

## Wavering Loyalties: Ideology, Opportunism, and ‘Changing Sides’ in the Late Republican Civil Wars

Fundamental aspects of the Triumviral period are the mutinies, desertions, and changes of sides which occurred throughout its civil wars (43-31 BCE). Reflecting on the period’s ‘prevailing insubordination’, Appian for example notes the following (*Ciu.* 5.17):

τό τε αὐτομολεῖν, πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἀδιάλλακτον ὄν, τότε καὶ δωρεῶν ἡξιοῦτο· καὶ ἔπρασσον αὐτὸ οἱ τε στρατοὶ κατὰ πλῆθος καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔνιοι, νομίζοντες οὐκ αὐτομολίαν εἶναι τὴν ἐς τὰ ὅμοια μεταβολήν. ὅμοια γὰρ δὴ πάντα ἦν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἕτερα αὐτῶν ἐς ἔχθραν κοινὴν Ῥωμαίοις ἀπεκέκριτο· ἥ τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὑπόκρισις μία, ὡς ἀπάντων ἐς τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πατρίδι βοηθοῦντων, εὐχερестέροις ἐποίει πρὸς τὴν μεταβολήν ὡς πανταχοῦ τῇ πατρίδι βοηθοῦντας.

“Desertion, which had formerly been unpardonable, was now actually rewarded with gifts, and whole armies resorted to it, including some illustrious men, who did not consider it desertion to change to a like cause, for all parties were alike, since neither of them could be distinguished as battling against the common enemy of the Roman people. The common pretence of the generals that they were all striving for the good of the country made desertion easy in the thought that one could serve his country in any party.”<sup>1</sup>

This episode, however grim, touches upon some of the period’s core elements. Although mutiny and desertion are phenomena of war, it is not until civil war is raging that they become commonplace. After the Ides of March chaos ensued. The fragile fabric which after Caesar’s rise to power had held together the Roman upper classes was torn apart. Fractionalisation was inevitable. Men either clustered around Octavian or Antony, tried to remain neutral in the conflict which was about to unfold, or fled Rome altogether, seeking refuge with Brutus and Cassius, or Sextus Pompeius. It was in this climate of anxiety that mutiny and desertion became ever more prevalent. This is not to argue that all common

<sup>1</sup> The question remains how much of this notion was born of actual experience, and how much it served as a literary trope of the period originating from Augustan writers, who could have engineered it in order to contrast the strife of the Late Republic to the new Augustan era in which *disciplina* was claimed to be restored. For military discipline in the Roman army, see CAMPBELL (1984), p. 303-314; BRICE (2003), p. 53-62; PHANG (2008).

soldiers and elite alike became unruly; but most of them will at some point have faced questions as ‘for whom to declare?’ or ‘should I stay true?’. This resulted in a multitude of decisions which would not have been taken were it not for the fact that a civil war was being fought. Notwithstanding the importance of this subject, it remains heavily underexplored.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, this article sets out to study ‘changes of sides’ during the Late Republic to substantiate our understanding of civil war dynamics. But before commencing our inquiry, some preliminary remarks are required.

The wish to categorise and clarify the tumultuous and complex character of the Late Roman Republic has given rise to a distinct terminology which assumes clear boundaries between the striving factions. Such compartmentalisation can, in Welch’s phrasing, “often do unintended violence to historical process, which always represents deeper, more perplexing ramifications.”<sup>3</sup> Throughout the years of civil war all participants, regardless of which side they were on, had to adjust the idea of what it was they were fighting for. As is often the case, troubled times were characterised by an increasing intensity of political-military dialogues as the need to justify one’s cause became ever more urgent.<sup>4</sup> As such, both during the civil wars as in later periods a terminology was needed to draw distinctions between the opposing entities: ‘Pompeians’, ‘Caesarians’, ‘Republicans’. Generalised terms such as these are readily available to the modern scholar of the Triumviral period, but caution is advised.<sup>5</sup> The fake sense of unity implied by such encompassing terms makes them potentially problematic, given that reality itself was far more fragmented and fluid.<sup>6</sup> Although these terms might provide useful tools for distinguishing between certain actors or

<sup>2</sup> BRICE (2003) forms a valuable exception to this rule, focussing on mutiny and unrest in the Roman military during the Triumviral and Julio-Claudian period. Its emphasis, however, lies on collective unrest and large-scale desertions rather than on the individual changes of sides which form the focus of this article. The same is true for KEAVENEY (2007), p. 71-92. For discussion on civil war terminology, see BRICE (2003), p. 65-77.

<sup>3</sup> WELCH (2012), p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> For the role of justifying narratives in modern civil wars, see CHRISTIA (2012), p. 7-8, 32, 45-49. Any student of the Late Republic will be familiar with the on-going ‘battles of words and images’ and their intensity.

<sup>5</sup> Although references to, for example, *Mariani* and *Sullani* can be found in the sources, it is not until the wars between Pompeius and Caesar that such labels become more frequently used.

<sup>6</sup> The traditional doctrine of approaching Roman politics as a competition between rigid ‘factions’ or ‘parties’ as found in MÜNZER (1920), SYME (1939) and TAYLOR (1949), has successfully been rebutted by other scholars, including MEIER (1966), GRUEN (1974), RAAFLAUB (1974) and BRUNT (1988), esp. p. 32-45, who argue in favour of more dynamic forms of alliance formation, allowing for a higher degree of fluidity and flexibility. Nonetheless, it is striking how often these terms still occur in indices. For an overview and analysis of modern historiography, see HÖLKESKAMP (2001) and ROBB (2010), esp. p. 15-33.

groups, we should keep in mind that they inevitably remain to some extent artificial; imposed on the historical reality rather than deduced from it.

For the period under consideration, the legacy of Syme's *Roman Revolution* (1939) cannot be overestimated.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, his tendency to classify the protagonists of this era as opportunists and to dispose of their ideological claims as being mere 'political catchwords'<sup>8</sup> has exerted an enduring influence in the field. However, more recent publications dealing with the Late Republican civil wars tend to give more weight to ideological claims and their justifications, with notable recent contributions made especially by Henderson, Osgood, Sumi, Lange, and Welch.<sup>9</sup> This growing interest in the Late Republican civil war environment has been mirrored by a recent upsurge in civil war literature from the political sciences, undoubtedly connected to its increased prominence in modern day politics.<sup>10</sup> One of these publications in particular provides valuable insights in the phenomenon confronted in this article.

Studying the formation and disintegration of alliances throughout modern, multi-party civil wars, Christia presents the first elaborate exploration of the reasons underlying processes of alliance formation in civil war contexts.<sup>11</sup> The value of Christia's research for this article is twofold. First, by uncovering some of the fundamental dynamics of civil strife, she draws explicit attention to the complexity of the civil war environment. As such, she urges us to move away from the tendency to implement simplified, bipolar approaches on far more complex realities.<sup>12</sup> This has implications for this article's methodology, as will become clear. Second, she concludes that relative power considerations rather than shared identity considerations determine alliance formation.<sup>13</sup> In Christia's view, opportunistic decision-making directs the dynamics of civil war, while ideological claims mainly serve as *post facto* justifications which allow (the

<sup>7</sup> SYME (1939). The influence of this work is apparent from publications such as ALFÖLDY (1983), and MILLAR / SEGAL (1984). For an overview of the impact of Syme's monograph, see GALSTERER (1990).

<sup>8</sup> SYME (1939), esp. p. 149-161.

<sup>9</sup> From approximately the eighties onwards, the increasing attention paid to the role of ideology in the fields of political theory, sociology, and philosophy started to exert a more profound influence on ancient historical research. The work of Foucault, Bourdieu, Weber, Habermas, and Ashcraft comes to mind; for discussion, see ANDO (2000), p. 19-48. For recent civil war publications, see GURVAL (1995); HENDERSON (1998); POWELL / WELCH (2002); RAAFLAUB (2003); CAIRNS / FANTHAM (2003); SUMI (2005); BATSTONE / DAMON (2006); MATIJEVIC (2006); FERRIÈS (2007); OSGOOD (2006); LANGE (2009), (2016); BREED *et al.* (2010); WELCH (2012), (2015); STEEL (2013); LANGE / VERVAET (2014); BORGIES (2016); BÖRM / MATTHEIS (2016).

<sup>10</sup> For these observations, I am indebted to LANGE (2019), which served as an inspiring example.

<sup>11</sup> In her study, CHRISTIA (2012) draws on *Realist International Relations Theory*, which has already been implemented on the Ancient World in ECKSTEIN (2006).

<sup>12</sup> CHRISTIA (2012), p. 32.

<sup>13</sup> CHRISTIA (2012), p. 32.

leaders of) warring groups to strategically manipulate identity categories for political purposes.<sup>14</sup> Her findings thus contrast with the tendency observable in the fields of Ancient History and Classics, in which ideological rather than opportunistic explanations are still gaining momentum.<sup>15</sup> Christia's analysis should therefore urge scholars of this period to rethink and possibly even reassess their material.

Merely advocating the dominance of one analytical or explanatory framework over the other will do little to improve our understanding of the studied phenomenon. Hence, this article employs a bandwidth notion when considering what drove the period's political manoeuvring. On the one end, one finds pure ideological commitment, whereas the other end represents sheer opportunistic motivation. Both extremes represent ideal types which seldom offer one-on-one correspondence to historical reality. Strict definitions are of little use here, but demarcations can be set. Ideological decisions are driven by strong commitment to certain ideals and values. These tend to be shared rather than ego-centred and are hence likely to transcend more personal or basic needs. Once combined, such ideal-elements can constitute an ideology: a broader, collective framework, apt to promote social cohesion within specific groups. Contrary to this, opportunistic decision-making prioritises one's personal disposition. Aimed at improving the current situation, individual drivers gain the upper hand. In a civil war environment, these can range from personal preservation or survival to gaining a substantial political, social or economic advantage, often at the expense of others, and with little regard for principles.

To understand civil war dynamics, we need to get a sense of what drives these conflicts and the people enrolled in them. The suggested bandwidth approach accounts for the complexity of the civil war environment by retaining the humane factor and a sense of realism. This brings us to one of the period's key issues; that is, the general lack of ego documents. Uncovering the motives of those changing sides can be a challenge given that in many instances, the said actors did not leave any written testimonies to explain why they acted in the manner that they did. There are exceptions, of course, most notably Cicero, whose more intimate correspondence between November 50 and June 49 provides important insight in his decision-making process in the run-up to civil war.<sup>16</sup> In most cases, however, we are necessarily dependent upon non-contemporary authors. Their writings offer valuable insights and are often based upon more contemporary material which is beyond our reach today. Of course, all of our sources pose particular challenges given that most if not all of them have been

<sup>14</sup> CHRISTIA (2012), p. 7, 32, 45-49.

<sup>15</sup> As exemplified by most of the works cited above (see note 9).

<sup>16</sup> An in-depth discussion of Cicero's correspondance, however, exceeds both the scope and chronological focus of this article; the reader is instead referred to BRUNT (1986), which remains elemental.

composed with a certain sociopolitical agenda in mind. Deduction therefore remains an important tool. Given that no single case study can offer a substantiated explanation for such complex matters, this article's argument builds on a multitude of inquiries, ranging from large-scale desertions to individual switches of allegiance. This quantitative approach offers a partial solution to the lack of ego documents, allowing us to paint a more comprehensive picture without losing sight of its individual components.

This article sets out to study changes of sides during the Late Republican civil wars to gain more insight in this phenomenon, to substantiate our understanding of civil war dynamics, and to determine what part ideology and opportunism played throughout these conflicts. As such, it offers a structural exploration of changes of sides during the Late Republican civil wars (43-31).

## 1. *The changing of sides*

### 1.1. 'You win some, you lose some'

Before turning towards the elite and commanding officers, some of the period's large-scale desertions will be dealt with in a chronological manner.<sup>17</sup> This section will, however, remain limited in scope, effectively covering the period until the Peace of Brundisium, signed in 40. Within a year after Caesar's murder, the increasing friction between Antony and Octavian would reach a first climax. Antony, when welcoming in Brundisium the five legions returning from Macedonia to take Cisalpine Gaul, was confronted with a restless and bad-tempered army. His offering of a donative to appease them was met with contempt and some of the troops 'broke out in tumult'.<sup>18</sup> Antony is then said to have ordered a partial decimation of the fractious troops to reassert his authority. In the meantime, as narrated by Appian, Octavian had started to circulate seditious pamphlets in Antony's camp, stirring them up against their commander and luring them over to his side with promises of lavish donatives.<sup>19</sup> In this way, he cleverly provided them with both ideological and practical incentives to subvert their loyalty. Antony was soon informed that two of his four legions, the Martians

<sup>17</sup> The large-scale desertions discussed in this article will be limited to legions or armies. Although other large entities, such as cities, also changed their allegiance throughout the wars, these will not be discussed, given that is often difficult if not impossible to answer the question of agency. To properly assess this question, one would have to account for internal division within the cities' governing bodies, the influence its people exerted on such decision-making, and the overall political climate a city found itself in when such decisions were made, i.e. when it was besieged. This cannot be done within this article's scope. Attempts at tackling these issues, be it for allied kingdoms in civil war, include HEKSTER (2012) and VAN WIJLICK (2013).

<sup>18</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 3.43. Cf. CASS. DIO 45.13. For discussion, see OSGOOD (2006), p. 48.

<sup>19</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 3.31, 3.43-44; CASS. DIO 45.12.1-2. See BRICE (2003), p. 87, 91; KEAVENEY (2007), p. 86.

and the Fourth, had declared for Octavian instead. Several of the reasons for their switch can either be deduced or have already been mentioned by the ancient sources. Being veteran legions, personal loyalty towards Caesar played a significant role in the course of the mutiny. Their anger at Antony's lack of zeal to avenge Caesar as well as the presence of an alternative in the form of his heir thus created an unstable situation. The particularly cruel handling of the initial unrest by ordering a partial decimation further increased tensions. Octavian's promises of generous donatives and slander towards Antony then capitalised upon the existing unrest, leading to mass desertion.<sup>20</sup> It remains unclear, however, why precisely these two legions deserted while the others did not.<sup>21</sup> The situation would be dissolved by two consecutive battles fought at Forum Gallorum and Mutina in early 43, where Antony suffered defeat. This episode presents us with an early example of large-scale mutiny followed by desertion. It highlights the ability of rivals to seduce the troops of others, accentuates the importance of loyalty, and draws attention to the manner of interaction between commander and troops. The events furthermore show that commanders were sometimes unable to assert authority over their troops, hence losing the ability to effectively steer the direction of events.<sup>22</sup>

In the aftermath of Mutina, Antony fled to the Alps.<sup>23</sup> When nearing Lepidus' camp, messengers first ran back and forth between them. Noticing these activities, the soldiers themselves then opened communications. With the troops mingling, Antony entered the encampment. Lepidus' men declared for Antony instead, leaving Lepidus no choice but to follow and acknowledge Antony as his superior.<sup>24</sup> This episode illustrates that fraternisation was a force to be reckoned with; especially during civil wars, when the boundaries between 'other' and 'self' tend to be more permeable than during regular conflicts.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> For this entire episode, see APP., *Ciu.* 3.31, 3.43-45; CASS. DIO 45.12.1-2, 45.13; LIV. 117; CIC., *Phil.* 3.4, 3.6, 3.11, 3.13, 5.2-3, 13.19, 14.12. For discussion, see SYME (1939), p. 120-122; BRUNT (1988), p. 260-262; BRICE (2003), p. 86-95; OSGOOD (2006), p. 48-50; KEAVENEY (2007), p. 86.

<sup>21</sup> One of the three Macedonian legions crossed to Brundisium separately, arriving too late to absorb the ongoing unrest, while the other was raised among veterans familiar with Antony, thus inspiring more loyalty towards him. See BRICE (2003), p. 92.

<sup>22</sup> This inability of commanders, which now featured more frequently than before, would eventually crystallise in the literary practise of mourning the loss of traditional *disciplina* in this period. See PHANG (2008), esp. p. 13-36. Examples include APP., *Ciu.* 5.17; SALL., *Cat.* 10-11, *Iug.* 41; FLOR. 1.47; LIV., *pr.* 9.

<sup>23</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 3.72.

<sup>24</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 3.83-84; VELL. PAT. 2.63; PLUT., *Vit. Ant.* 18. Rather than deserting to Antony, Juventius Laterensis, one of Lepidus' commanders, committed suicide instead. For Lepidus' self-defence regarding this matter, see CIC., *Fam.* 10.35.1. Cf. OSGOOD (2006), p. 57-58. A generation earlier, Scipio suffered a fate almost identical to Lepidus' when his army went over to Sulla in 83, see APP., *Ciu.* 1.85; PLUT., *Sull.* 28.

<sup>25</sup> One might assume that important factors contributing to this included former comradeship – having served the elder Caesar, for example – and speaking a shared language.

Shortly after Mutina, Antony was declared as *hostis*, upon which the Senate awarded several noteworthy commands for the defence of the *res publica*.<sup>26</sup> Octavian, however, was denied any honours, while his negotiation for the consulship met considerable resistance.<sup>27</sup> This apparently spurred him to march on Rome. In the episode which followed messengers ran back and forth between the approaching army and the Senate, and promises were made and broken, causing severe commotion in Rome. Negotiations focussed on formerly promised donatives for the troops and on a consulship for Octavian. Political power, personal honour, and money were at stake here. When nearing the city, three of the defending legions deserted to Octavian, who soon secured the highest office.<sup>28</sup> Although later narrative emphasised that his troops had forced him to march on Rome, Octavian's influence is evident.<sup>29</sup> By tapping into prevailing unrest among his legions he cleverly aligned their interests, thus pressuring the Senate into compliance. Indeed, much could be justified by arguing that the soldiers had demanded it. Although this could and certainly was used for retrospective justification, it does also illuminate that armies and not just generals steered the direction of events in the Late Republic.<sup>30</sup>

Meanwhile in the East, Brutus and Cassius had not been idle.<sup>31</sup> In early 43, Antony's brother Gaius arrived in Macedonia to assume the governorship. He was beaten by Brutus, who managed to win over the loyalty of Gaius' troops and added them to his increasing strength.<sup>32</sup> Cassius had in the meantime entered Syria, where Caecilius Bassus found himself to be the new-made commander of a mutinous legion. It did not take long before Bassus was besieged by the combined forces of Staius Murcus, proconsul of Syria and loyal to Octavian,

<sup>26</sup> Sextus Pompeius was appointed *praefectus classis et orae maritimae* ('Prefect of the Fleet and the Coastlines'), providing him with a prestigious Mediterranean-wide imperium (APP., *Ciu.* 3.4, 4.70, 4.84; CASS. DIO 46.40.3; VELL. PAT. 2.73.2). Decimus Brutus was voted a triumph and received command over the war against Antony (APP., *Ciu.* 3.74). Brutus and Cassius were confirmed in their provinces of Macedonia and Syria respectively and received command over the war against Dolabella (VELL. PAT. 2.62-64, 2.73.2).

<sup>27</sup> CASS. DIO 46.40-41.

<sup>28</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 3.92. One of the commanders, Cornutus, decided to commit suicide rather than desertion.

<sup>29</sup> For this episode, see LIV., *Per.* 119; SUET., *Aug.* 26.1; TAC., *Ann.* 1.10.1; APP., *Ciu.* 3.86-88, 3.92-94; CASS. DIO 46.42-47. For modern analyses, see SYME (1939), p. 184-186; GOWING (1992), p. 76-77; BRICE (2003), p. 140-143; OSGOOD (2006), p. 58-59.

<sup>30</sup> OSGOOD (2006), p. 57. This influence of the army was noted, see CIC., *Phil.* 10.18-19.

<sup>31</sup> The most important sources for the whereabouts of Brutus and Cassius after their departure from Italy are, besides Cicero's correspondence, APP., *Ciu.* 4.57-82; CASS. DIO 47.20-36; PLUT., *Brut.* 21-33; see OSGOOD (2006), p. 88, n. 89. For discussion on Appian and Dio, see GOWING (1992), p. 166-173.

<sup>32</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 3.79; CASS. DIO 47.21.4-7; PLUT., *Brut.* 26.5.



and Marcius Crispus, the governor of Bithynia, who each commanded three legions.<sup>33</sup> It was at this time that Cassius made his *entrée*. Invested with pro-consular powers by the Senate, and enjoying a formidable military reputation in this region for his actions as *quaestor* following the defeat at Carrhae in 53, he persuaded the three commanders and their troops to join him.<sup>34</sup> By effectively conciliating the armies of besieged and besiegers, his forces were augmented by another eight legions; indicating that legitimacy and military prestige, besides all factors we have come across so far, could indeed be paramount.<sup>35</sup>

The accounts of next year's activities mainly focus on the on-going proscriptions and the campaigns against Brutus and Cassius. Although Brutus and Cassius were expecting mutinous behaviour from former Caesarian soldiers in their ranks, their worries turned out to be unfounded. Indeed, it was not until the end of the second battle at Philippi and Brutus' death that the larger part of their armies agreed to be divided among the victors.<sup>36</sup> Many who refused to capitulate but managed to escape joined the cause of the last standing Pompeian and sailed for Sicily.<sup>37</sup> Philippi thus presents us with both opportunistic defection as well as more ideologically driven segments of the army, exemplified respectively by those who at the last moment declared for the Triumvirs, and those who instead decided to prolong their fight against them. It should be noted, however, that not everyone could have continued their fight even if they had wished to. It is one thing to change sides before actual combat, quite another to engage in battle and be defeated, accept that the opposing side had prevailed, and to subsequently negotiate terms of surrender. The matter of agency here is key, and it is likely that in these circumstances those who fought and lost will have had little at their disposal.

The year 41 witnessed Octavian's attempts at settling veterans in Italy, during which he faced several mutinies. Although these could relatively easily be dealt with,<sup>38</sup> the frictions building between Octavian and Lucius Antony were not easily dissolved. Their conflict over land allotment culminated in the Perusine war

<sup>33</sup> On this episode, see APP., *Ciu.* 3.77, 4.58; CASS. DIO 47.26.3-27.

<sup>34</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 4.59; CASS. DIO 47.28.1. After Crassus was defeated at Carrhae, Cassius led the remainder of the army to Syria, successfully defending the region against Parthian attacks until 51, for which see CASS. DIO 40.25.4, 40.28-29; PLUT., *Crass.* 18-29; CIC., *Att.* 5.20.

<sup>35</sup> Cassius' defeat of Dolabella and acquisition of his forces is not treated. Once pinned down in Laodicea and being cut-off from his supply lines, Dolabella decided to take his own life, leaving his army without leadership. Hence, this changing of sides is of a different character than the instances discussed so far.

<sup>36</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 4.135-138; CASS. DIO 49.47.3-4; KEAVENEY (2007), p. 87.

<sup>37</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 5.2; CASS. DIO 48.19.3; VELL. PAT. 2.72.4. See SCHOR (1978), p. 79-80, 88-174 on those who were indebted to Sextus. For the composition of Sextus' following, see WELCH (2002b), p. 44-49.

<sup>38</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 5.16; CASS. DIO 48.10.1.



(41-40), which again featured attempts at winning over the opponent's forces.<sup>39</sup> Although Lucius initially succeeded in winning back the loyalty of two mutinous legions by offering large donatives, he ultimately witnessed part of his troops declare for Octavian instead.<sup>40</sup> After Lucius' defeat and the termination of the war, another two legions which had formerly belonged to Munatius Plancus were, for reasons unclear, persuaded to come over to Agrippa.<sup>41</sup>

In the wake of the Perusine war another conflict ensued, this time leading to a clash between Octavian and Mark Antony. Alarmed by the outcome of Perusia, Antony decided to rush back to Italy, upon which Octavian marched down south.<sup>42</sup> With the prospect of war looming, part of their armies fraternised and decided to reconcile their commanders rather than face each other on the battlefield.<sup>43</sup> In a fashion similar to the encounter between Antony and Lepidus in 43, the legions effectively imposed their collective will on their quarrelling commanders. The treaty known as the 'Peace of Brundisium' was formalised by a marriage between Antony and Octavian's sister Octavia, and renegotiated their respective spheres of influence. This episode shows that the 'rank and file' could occasionally triumph over their commanders; in this case, perhaps, because they felt that they were quarrelling over individual disputes rather than operating on behalf of the *res publica*.

Large-scale mutinies and desertion were, then, recurrent phenomena during the Late Republican civil wars. Through fraternisation, mutiny, or changing sides, soldiers were repeatedly able to influence the course of events. One could indeed argue that from the Ides of March onwards, soldiers "shaped what happened every bit as much as the politicians".<sup>44</sup>

## 1.2. The wavering elite

Having examined the 'rank and file' and the way in which they behaved during the wars of the Late Republic, we now switch towards the wavering individuals among the elite and the commanding officers.<sup>45</sup> In light of this article's aim,

<sup>39</sup> For an in-depth analysis of the Perusine war and its sources, see GABBA (1971); WELCH (2012), p. 218-230.

<sup>40</sup> The cause for their defection is said to have been a false report which, spread by Antony's troublesome *quaestor* M. Barbatius, informed them that Antony disapproved of Lucius' actions, see APP., *Ciu.* 5.30-31.

<sup>41</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 5.50.

<sup>42</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 5.56.

<sup>43</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 5.59-5.63. For discussion, see BRICE (2003), p. 133-137.

<sup>44</sup> OSGOOD (2006), p. 57.

<sup>45</sup> For verification of basic statements regarding the individuals discussed in this section the reader is referred to *Brill's New Pauly*: CANKI / SCHNEIDER / LANDFESTER (ed.) (accessible online), or for a more dated but more extensive treatment, *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie* or 'Old Pauly': WISSOWA *et al.* (1893-1980); from now on *RE*. Of course, BROUGHTON (1951-1952) remains indispensable. The current selection mainly followed

these high-profile individuals will be of particular interest given that they had to live up to the high demands and competitiveness of Roman public life.<sup>46</sup> As such, one might expect to find a strong sense of ideological commitment among this segment of the population – whether directed by their ancestral background and family name, their ambition, their individual *dignitas*, their service to the *res publica*, or by direct pressure from their peers. Building on the assumption that the more often a certain individual deserted, the less he could have been driven by ideological aspirations, these wavering members of the elite will, in what follows, generally be dealt with according to the number of times they changed sides. Please note that this ordering principle is not always rigidly adhered to either because of historical complexities or for narratological reasons. Not all changes of allegiance, for example, should be seen or counted as desertion. Consequently, the sequence employed remains compiled at the author's discretion; for more details, see the Appendix. Furthermore, for reasons of clarity and to ease verification, all individuals discussed in this article will be numbered and provided with their entry in *RE*.

The case of three-time deserter Quintus Dellius (1)<sup>47</sup> provides a good starting point. First attested under Dolabella, the proconsul of Syria in 43, Dellius changed sides to Cassius. He would again desert him the following year to try his luck in Antony's service instead.<sup>48</sup> Rising to a position of high esteem under his new superior, he would frequently conduct diplomatic missions in the East.<sup>49</sup> Here he stayed put until shortly before Actium he decided to pledge his service to Octavian instead, bringing with him sensitive military information.<sup>50</sup> Perhaps because of this service he was held in high regard by his new commander.<sup>51</sup> Unfortunately, only a few fragments have been preserved of the history that Dellius wrote, depriving us of the chance to learn more about his intentions or justifications for his switches of allegiance.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, the surviving

from a re-reading of SYME (1939), resulting in a list of 'persons of interest'. For an overview and supplementary remarks, the reader is referred to the Appendix.

<sup>46</sup> Cicero's more intimate correspondence between November 50 and June 49 provides valuable insight in his decision-making process in the run-up to civil war. Given that an in-depth discussion of Cicero exceeds the scope of this article, and the material predates its focus, the reader is instead referred to BRUNT (1986).

<sup>47</sup> *RE* IV.2, 2447-2448 (Del.).

<sup>48</sup> VELL. PAT. 2.84.2; SEN., *Suas.* 1.7.

<sup>49</sup> Diplomatic missions included a trip to Herod the Great in Judaea in 39 to assist him in the expulsion of the heir-apparent Antigonos (JOSEPH., *AJ* 14.394; *BJ* 1.290); to the court of Cleopatra to bid her to travel to Antony's headquarters (PLUT., *Ant.* 25.1-3); and to the Armenian king Artavasdes to arrange the marriage between his daughter and Alexander Helios, the son of Antony and Cleopatra (CASS. DIO 49.39.2).

<sup>50</sup> CASS. DIO 50.23; PLUT., *Ant.* 59.4.

<sup>51</sup> SEN., *Clem.* 1.10.1; Dellius (1) was also the recipient of one of Horace's *Odes*, see *Carm.* 2.3.

<sup>52</sup> CORNELL *et al.* (2013), I, p. 424-425; for the fragments, II, p. 844-847; for a commentary, III, p. 518.

account clearly illustrates that political skill and experience could be key when changing sides.

The patrician M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (2)<sup>53</sup> provides a second case study.<sup>54</sup> Although he was initially proscribed, these charges were later reversed.<sup>55</sup> Messalla nevertheless joined Cassius, under whom he served in the East. He held a subordinate command during the first battle of Philippi, and after the final defeat surrendered the remaining forces to Antony.<sup>56</sup> He subsequently accompanied Antony on several diplomatic missions.<sup>57</sup> The decisive break between the two occurred in 32 when Messalla, supposedly disgusted by Antony's enslavement by Cleopatra, deserted to Octavian.<sup>58</sup> Whether this motive was genuine or instead reflected Messalla's subsequent justification of his conduct remains unclear.<sup>59</sup> Messalla's switch of allegiance would, however, pay off, and very handsomely so. He held the consulate together with Octavian in 31, an office which had initially been assigned to Antony. Further honours and prestigious positions soon followed.<sup>60</sup> Although successfully embedded in the *nouus status*, Messalla continued to voice criticism and proudly acknowledged his service under Cassius.<sup>61</sup> The value of narrating Messalla's course of life and achievements thus rests in its illustrative power. It demonstrates that former opponents could and did thrive under the new rule, and that some could even voice their occasional disagreement.<sup>62</sup> It is ironic that Messalla is said to have characterised Dellius (1) as the *desultor bellorum ciuiliu* (the 'vaulter of the

<sup>53</sup> *RE* VIII.A.1, 131-157 (Val. 261).

<sup>54</sup> For Messalla see also CORNELL *et al.* (2013), p. 463-471; WELCH (2009), p. 200-209.

<sup>55</sup> Proscriptions: APP., *Ciu.* 4.38, 5.113; CASS. DIO 47.11.4, 49.16.1. Revocation: APP., *Ciu.* 4.38.

<sup>56</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 4.38, 5.113; VELL. PAT. 2.71.1.

<sup>57</sup> JOSEPH., *AJ* 14.325; *BJ* 1.243. Messalla was awarded the augurate for his role in the Sicilian war against Sextus Pompeius during which he saved Octavian after his defeat at Tauromenium in 36, see CASS. DIO 49.16.1; APP., *Ciu.* 5.102, 5.103, 5.105, 5.110, 5.112-113. Although he held a command in Octavian's Illyrian campaigns of 35 and 34, he returned to Antony afterwards, see CASS. DIO 49.38.3; APP., *Ill.* 4.17.

<sup>58</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 4.38. It is remarkable that hints of a similar argument, this time concerning Dellius' (1) desertion towards Octavian, can be found in an episode of Plutarch (*Ant.* 59.4). Both stories correspond to the propaganda which in the years leading up to Actium was directed against Antony. The body of work on this topic is vast: ZANKER (1987) and WALLMANN (1989) provide early examples, whereas BORGES (2016) offers a recent, well annotated, and comprehensive overview of the period's political dialogues. The volume of WEBER / ZIMMERMANN (2003) is likewise recommended.

<sup>59</sup> CORNELL *et al.* (2013), p. 465; WELCH (2009), p. 201.

<sup>60</sup> Consulate: APP., *Ciu.* 4.38. Proconsulate of Syria: CASS. DIO 51.7.7. Governorship of Gaul and triumph: APP., *Ciu.* 4.38; TIB. 1.7.3-12, 2.1.33. Antony's House: CASS. DIO 53.27.5; TAC., *Ann.* 11.7.2. *Praefectus urbi*: TAC., *Ann.* 6.11.3. *Curator aquarum*: FRON-TIN., *Aq.* 99. Proposal of title *pater patriae*: SUET., *Aug.* 58.1-2.

<sup>61</sup> PLUT., *Brut.* 53.3. Cf. TAC., *Ann.* 4.34.4.

<sup>62</sup> WELCH (2009), p. 205.

civil wars'), while he himself had behaved in a similar fashion.<sup>63</sup> This touches upon an interesting point. As one of the more influential *nobiles*, Messalla was able to maintain good relations with both Triumvirs, hence preventing complete subordination to one or the other. This certainly worked in his favour.<sup>64</sup> Messalla's show of semi-independence served as a testimony to his own *auctoritas*. This demonstrates that when changing sides, sociopolitical standing could be a valuable asset.

An intriguing figure able to rival both Dellius (1) and Messalla (2) as it comes to changing sides is Menodorus (3)<sup>65</sup>, who defected three times. In contrast to most individuals discussed in this section, Menodorus was not of noble stock but a freedman of Pompeius Magnus.<sup>66</sup> From approximately 40 onwards he served as an admiral under Sextus Pompeius in whose name he conquered Sardinia and Corsica.<sup>67</sup> He would hold on to these territories until he defected to Octavian in 38, handing over both islands together with the army and fleet stationed there.<sup>68</sup> For this he was honoured with equestrian rank.<sup>69</sup> Still unhappy with his position, as reported by Appian and Dio, Menodorus defected back to Sextus in 37.<sup>70</sup> But the distrust between Sextus and Menodorus drove him to change his allegiance for a third and final time. Although pardoned he was not again trusted by Octavian who, probably in an attempt to distance him from Sextus, sent him off to Illyria where he found his death in a river battle the following year.<sup>71</sup> Regardless of his low origins, Menodorus was valued by all sides because of his great naval experience and skills, effectively escaping punishment by compelling his superiors to display leniency towards him.<sup>72</sup> The high commands he held under both Sextus and Octavian attest to his success.

More distinguished, and from equestrian origin, was L. Munatius Plancus (4).<sup>73</sup> Having fought under Caesar in Spain and Africa he became a *praetor* in 45, was appointed proconsul in Gaul the year after, and was promised the consulship for 42. In short, he was part of Caesar's inner circle. After the Ides, Plancus was one of the first to plead for reconciliation between the pro-Caesarians and the assassins. Commanding five legions in Gaul he answered the Senate's call to oppose Antony and joined his forces to those of Decimus Brutus, who

<sup>63</sup> Thus Messalla in SEN., *Suas.* 1.7.

<sup>64</sup> CORNELL *et al.* (2013), p. 465.

<sup>65</sup> RE XV.1, 896-900 (Men. 1). By some he is referred to as Menas. For Menodorus, see also HADAS (1930), p. 105-106, 122-128; GOWING (1992), p. 181-205; WELCH (2012), p. 16, 234, 247, 263-266, 269, 283.

<sup>66</sup> VELL. PAT. 2.73.3; APP., *Ciu.* 5.79.

<sup>67</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 5.56, 5.66; CASS. DIO 48.30.7-8.

<sup>68</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 5.78-80; CASS. DIO 48.45.5-7.

<sup>69</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 5.80; CASS. DIO 48.45.7; SUET., *Aug.* 74.

<sup>70</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 5.96; CASS. DIO 48.54.7.

<sup>71</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 5.102; CASS. DIO 49.1.4-5, 49.37.6.

<sup>72</sup> In line with WELCH (2012), p. 265; HADAS (1930), p. 127.

<sup>73</sup> RE XVI.1, 545-551 (Mun. 30).

was being besieged in Mutina. After the latter was proscribed he switched his allegiance to Antony, hence continuing to operate within the 'legal boundaries'. He celebrated a triumph in 43, became consul in 42 as promised, marched to Perusia to defend Antony's brother in 41, and afterwards left for Antony in the East. He served him loyally until 32 when he declared for Octavian instead, apparently unable to bear 'Cleopatra's interference in Antony's campaign and the latter's infatuation with her any longer'. He brought with him valuable information regarding Antony's testament.<sup>74</sup> Octavian would make the most of this opportunity, as is well known. Plancus had secured a successful political future. Deserters, therefore, could count on a warm welcome as long as they proved valuable allies through the information, skills, or troops they brought with them.

"Of a variegated past", as Syme described him, M. Junius Silanus (5)<sup>75</sup> changed his allegiance four times.<sup>76</sup> In early 43, Lepidus sent his tribune Silanus to Mutina. Although summoned by the Senate to act against Antony, Dio emphasises that Lepidus was reluctant to oppose him; thus providing Silanus only with vague instructions.<sup>77</sup> Once at the scene, Silanus made the call to join Antony.<sup>78</sup> When Antony was defeated and the plan backfired, Lepidus turned Silanus into his scapegoat. The latter subsequently decided to flee to Sicily and join Sextus. He was pardoned by the Treaty of Misenum in 39, which allowed for the rehabilitation of most of the Triumviral opponents who had sought refuge on Sicily.<sup>79</sup> Silanus returns in our narrative serving as Antony's *quaestor pro consule* in Greece in 34. It is again Plutarch who informs us that he defected to Octavian out of resentment of Antony's infatuation with Cleopatra.<sup>80</sup> He would pursue a successful political career, being appointed as consul in 25 along with Augustus. As long as the timing was right, therefore, changing sides really could pay off.

The story of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (6)<sup>81</sup> is likewise worth recounting. Although Ahenobarbus was once pardoned by Caesar, he would nevertheless conspire against him.<sup>82</sup> He subsequently served as a fleet commander under Brutus and Cassius for two years;<sup>83</sup> much like L. Staius Murcus (26),<sup>84</sup> whom we have encountered earlier.<sup>85</sup> Whereas Murcus left with his fleet to join Sextus

<sup>74</sup> CASS. DIO 50.3; PLUT., *Ant.* 58. He was accompanied by Marcus Titius (9).

<sup>75</sup> *RE* X.1, 1095-1096 (Iun. 172).

<sup>76</sup> SYME (1939), p. 325.

<sup>77</sup> CASS. DIO 46.38.6.

<sup>78</sup> CASS. DIO 46.38.7; 46.50.3; 46.51.1.

<sup>79</sup> Silanus was named in this treaty, see VELL. PAT. 2.77.3.

<sup>80</sup> PLUT., *Ant.* 59.4.

<sup>81</sup> *RE* V.1, 1328-1331 (Dom. 23).

<sup>82</sup> Pardoned: CAES., *Ciu.* 1.23. Conspirator: SUET., *Ner.* 3.

<sup>83</sup> CIC., *Att.* 16.4.4.

<sup>84</sup> *RE* IIIA.2; 2136-2139 (Stai. 2).

<sup>85</sup> For Murcus, see note 33.

after Philippi, Ahenobarbus continued the war on his own initiative commandeering a force of seventy ships and two legions. This separate bid for military power is interesting and shows certain parallels to Messalla's (2) attempt at retaining a level of independence throughout the war. Rather than relying on sociopolitical standing alone like Messalla, however, Ahenobarbus also built upon his military potential. He would win several victories against the Triumvirs before he reconciled himself with Antony in 40.<sup>86</sup> Serving him loyally, Ahenobarbus was granted several prestigious commands, reaching the consulship in 32.<sup>87</sup> According to our sources he strongly opposed Cleopatra's influence on Antony, deserted to Octavian just before Actium, and died of illness shortly afterwards.<sup>88</sup>

As an initial supporter of Sextus, M. Licinius Crassus (7)<sup>89</sup> was pardoned at Misenum. He probably served as *quaestor* shortly afterwards, but returned into the service of Sextus under whom he fought in the battle of Naulochus in 36. After Sextus' defeat he switched towards Antony, but like several of the individuals discussed already went over to Octavian before Actium.<sup>90</sup> Crassus would pursue a career as distinguished as it was short.<sup>91</sup> He was appointed consul in 30 without having held the praetorship and was voted a triumph in 28, which he celebrated a year later.<sup>92</sup> After being denied the dedication of *spolia opima*, an honour obstructed by Augustus, he disappears from the public scene; not to be heard of again.<sup>93</sup>

With Crassus (7) our list of documented 'multiple deserters' comes to an end. The individuals discussed so far already provide us with a diverse picture. While we have come across plenty of opportune desertions, some of these decisions seem to have been more ideologically driven. The reasons for them changing sides successfully vary, ranging from one's sociopolitical standing or the possession of money and troops, to matters of personal experience and skill. Furthermore, bringing valuable information and, more generally, getting the timing right, have likewise proven to be factors of importance when changing sides.

<sup>86</sup> VELL. PAT. 2.72.3; 2.76.2; APP., *Ciu.* 5.50.

<sup>87</sup> CASS. DIO 49.41.4.

<sup>88</sup> CASS. DIO 50.13.6; PLUT., *Ant.* 56.2, 63.2-3; SUET., *Ner.* 3; TAC., *Ann.* 4.44; VELL. PAT. 2.84.2.

<sup>89</sup> RE XIII.1, 270-285 (Lic. 58). On Licinius Crassus see also WELCH (2012), p. 301-303.

<sup>90</sup> CASS. DIO 51.4.3.

<sup>91</sup> Note WELCH (2012), p. 299-304, and her remark that "the period before Actium, Caesar [Octavian] made a particular effort to win favour with Republicans and, more specifically, with those Republicans connected to Pompeius" (p. 301).

<sup>92</sup> CASS. DIO 51.4.3; 51.25.2.

<sup>93</sup> CASS. DIO 51.24.4; 51.25.2. For *spolia opima*, see FLOWER (2000), p. 49-53; ÖSTENBERG (2009), p. 67. For "forced back into private life", see FÜNDLING, 'Licinius', in CANKI / SCHNEIDER / LANDFESTER (ed.).

In order to substantiate these findings, which have so far been based on an analysis of multiple deserters only, we will now switch our attention to those who only changed sides once. This will both improve our understanding of the phenomenon itself as well as quantify our findings. As we have seen, Philippi became a popular defection point, switching from Brutus and Cassius to the other side, that is, the combined forces of Antony and Octavian. This turning point can be matched by one which has so far received only minor attention: the battle of Naulochus which, fought in 36, resulted in the defeat of Sextus Pompeius at the hand of the triumviral forces rallied against him.<sup>94</sup> Although suffering defeat, Sextus and some of his most loyal supporters managed to escape. L. Plinius Rufus (8),<sup>95</sup> who was left in charge of Sicily, surrendered the island and the eight legions stationed there to Lepidus.<sup>96</sup> The latter's success would be of short duration as within a few days' time his entire army had declared for Octavian instead, effectively dismissing Lepidus into private life.<sup>97</sup> In the meantime, Sextus would reach Lesbos where he spent the winter. He withdrew into Asia Minor the following year, being pursued by Antony's forces under the command of Marcus Titius (9).<sup>98</sup> Around this time, his remaining supporters began negotiating for terms. As such, L. Scribonius Libo (10), M. Aemilius Scaurus (11), C. Cassius Parmensis (12), Sentius Saturninus Vetulo (13), Q. Minucius Thermus (14), C. Antistius Reginus (15), Q. Nasidius (16), and C. Fannius (17) went over to Antony.<sup>99</sup> In a last attempt to escape, Sextus found himself betrayed by his half-brother Scaurus (11), who communicated his plan to his enemies.<sup>100</sup> Sextus would soon be captured and killed by Titius (9), a man whom he himself had once pardoned.<sup>101</sup>

Most of Sextus' inner circle, however, seem to have managed to reconcile with their new superiors, be it with varying degrees of success. As a Roman of

<sup>94</sup> The employed strategy relied on a pincer movement, with Octavian and Agrippa besieging Sicily from the north-east, while Lepidus made the crossing from Africa, see APP., *Ciu.* 5.97; CASS. DIO 49.1.1.

<sup>95</sup> *RE* XXI.1, 270-271 (Plin. 4).

<sup>96</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 5.122.

<sup>97</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 1.123-126; CASS. DIO 49.12; VELL. PAT. 2.80. For discussion, see BRICE (2003), p. 103-112.

<sup>98</sup> *RE* VIA.2, 1559-1562 (Tit. 18). Together with Plancus (4), Titius would later desert to Octavian, bringing with them Antony's testament.

<sup>99</sup> See APP., *Ciu.* 5.139. All of them had served under Sextus from the beginning, with the exception of Cassius Parmensis, one of the conspirators, who had initially joined Brutus and Cassius, and left for Sicily after Philippi. Their *RE* entries are as follows: L. Scribonius Libo [IIA.1, 881-885 (Scrib. 20)]; M. Aemilius Scaurus [I, 590 (Aem. 142)]; C. Cassius Parmensis [III.2, 1743-1744 (Cas. 80)]; Sentius Saturninus Vetulo [IIA.2, 1511-1526 (Sen. 9)]; Q. Minucius Thermus [XV.2, 1972-1974 (Min. 67)]; C. Antistius Reginus [I, 2558 (Ant. 39)]; Q. Nasidius [XVI.2, 1789-1790 (Nas. 4)]; and C. Fannius [VI.2, 1991-1992 (Fan. 9)].

<sup>100</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 5.142.

<sup>101</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 5.143-144; CASS. DIO 49.18.4-6.



the highest standing, Libo (10) held the consulship in 34.<sup>102</sup> Scaurus (11) was granted clemency after Actium as a favour to Mucia, his mother and former wife of Pompeius Magnus, whom Octavian treated with great respect.<sup>103</sup> Parmensis (12) fought for Antony at Actium and fled to Athens afterwards. Here he was executed within a year's time, having been recognised as the last surviving murderer of Caesar.<sup>104</sup> The fate of Saturninus (13) is uncertain, although it is likely that he made his peace with Octavian given that his more famous son turned out to be a staunch supporter of Augustus, effectively securing the consulship in 19. As an old man and head of a respectable family, Thermus (14) likewise made his peace with the new rulers.<sup>105</sup> Of Reginus (15) nothing is known. The admiral Nasidius (16) would continue to serve in Antony's fleet. After being defeated by Agrippa in 31, he disappears from our narratives.<sup>106</sup> Fannius (17) remains equally elusive.

With our next case we take leave of larger turning points and return to the level of the individual. L. Gellius Poplicola (18)<sup>107</sup> initially joined the cause of Brutus and Cassius; he was soon followed by his brother, the illustrious Messalla Corvinus (2). At some point, however, and for reasons unclear, Poplicola plotted against Brutus. Upon exposure he not only escaped punishment, but was even allowed to join Cassius and travel east. Dio informs us that he again tried to conspire against his superior, but that this time the plot was dismantled beforehand. After allegedly being spared for the sake of his mother and brother, Poplicola defected to Antony, whom he joined in 43.<sup>108</sup> He was elected consul in 36 and fought alongside Antony at Actium, during or after which he perished.<sup>109</sup> That he did well under the victors of Philippi does not come as a surprise. But that he, according to Dio, could get away with two attempted conspiracies definitely does. As it turns out, family really did matter. It is a shame that none of his motivations can be recovered as Dio did not pause to suggest why Poplicola acted the way he did.<sup>110</sup> Nonetheless, he remains an intriguing figure; it must have been for similar reasons that Dio recorded the

<sup>102</sup> CASS. DIO 49.39.1. Libo was the brother-in-law of both Pompeius Magnus and Octavian. He would ultimately become part of the imperial family through his Scribonian descent.

<sup>103</sup> CASS. DIO 51.2.5.

<sup>104</sup> VELL. PAT. 2.87.3; VAL. MAX. 1.7.7.

<sup>105</sup> Although probable, it remains unclear if Thermus was also reconciled with Octavian.

<sup>106</sup> CASS. DIO 50.13.5.

<sup>107</sup> RE VII.1, 1003-1005 (Gel. 18).

<sup>108</sup> For this entire episode, see CASS. DIO 47.24.3-6; LIV., *Per.* 122.

<sup>109</sup> VELL. PAT. 2.85.2; PLUT., *Ant.* 65.1, 66.3.

<sup>110</sup> It seems, however, to correspond to Alain Gowing's characterisation of Dio's overall treatment of Brutus and Cassius, remarking that "beyond the occasional anecdote, then, there is no attempt [by Dio] to delineate character or go beyond their immediate relevance to the narrative"; see GOWING (1992), p. 177.

episode in the first place. This case once more underlines the importance of standing, and demonstrates that indiscipline was not always dealt with in a uniform way.

A certain Lucilius (19)<sup>111</sup> provides us with another striking portrait. In the aftermath of Philippi, Lucilius, a close friend of Brutus, pretended to be him and voluntarily surrendered to their pursuers, upon which he was delivered to Antony. Both Appian and Plutarch record that Antony gladly took Lucilius into his service, impressed as he was by his loyalty and his willingness to sacrifice himself in order to protect his friend. Lucilius would follow Antony with similar loyalty as he had shown Brutus, until they both met their end after Actium.<sup>112</sup> His personal qualities, therefore, being valued by either side, clearly prolonged his career.

Although Turullius' (20)<sup>113</sup> fleet remained unbeaten during the battles of Philippi, he decided, as one of Caesar's assassins, to side with Antony nonetheless.<sup>114</sup> After the final defeat and death of Antony, he was delivered to Octavian who immediately ordered his execution.<sup>115</sup> The stories of Turullius and Parmensis (12) combine to illustrate an interesting point; that is, whereas Octavian and Antony could both be described as 'Caesarian', their policies could and did in fact differ. As known conspirators against Caesar, they were nevertheless employed in Antony's service while both were executed by Octavian upon capture.<sup>116</sup>

The next two individuals were more fortunate. Q. Horatius Flaccus (21)<sup>117</sup> – better known as Horace – got like so many others caught up in the period's civil strife. Although he initially held a high military command under Brutus, he would end up on Octavian's side to become one of the leading poets of the Augustan era. For similar reasons, L. Sempronius Atratinus (22)<sup>118</sup> deserves listing. Serving Antony for the greater part of the Triumviral period, he held the offices of *augur*, *praetor*, and ultimately that of *consul suffectus* in 34 together with Libo (10).<sup>119</sup> He went over to Octavian at an unknown date and changed sides successfully, given that he became proconsul of Africa in 21 and even celebrated a triumph upon his return to Rome.

<sup>111</sup> RE XIII.2, 1617 (Luc. 2).

<sup>112</sup> For this episode, see PLUT., *Brut.* 50, *Ant.* 69.1; APP., *Ciu.* 4.129.

<sup>113</sup> RE VIIA.2, 1451-1452 (Tur. 1).

<sup>114</sup> He either switched to Antony together with Ahenobarbus (6) in 40, or, less likely, fled to Sicily with Murcus and abandoned this cause in 35 (he is not named in APP., *Ciu.* 5, 139).

<sup>115</sup> CASS. DIO 51.8.2-3; VAL. MAX. 1.1.19.

<sup>116</sup> Ahenobarbus (6) seemed to have formed an exception. As one of the murderers, he nevertheless switched to Octavian before Actium. He was not killed upon arrival, but died of illness shortly afterwards.

<sup>117</sup> RE VIII.2, 2336-2344 (Hor. 10).

<sup>118</sup> RE IIA.2, 1366-1368 (Sem. 26).

<sup>119</sup> CASS. DIO 49.39.1.

Nearing the end of our list we encounter L. Arruntius (23).<sup>120</sup> Upon finding out that he had been proscribed, he fled to Sextus.<sup>121</sup> He was, like Silanus (5), pardoned by the Treaty of Misenum, after which he returned to Rome.<sup>122</sup> Arruntius would command part of Octavian's fleet at Actium and pursued a successful political career, reaching the consulship in 22.<sup>123</sup> It is the blurred lines that make this case stand out, much like Silanus' (5) story. To begin with, Arruntius' initial loyalty did not lie with Sextus. Circumstantial necessity rather than free choice was at play here. That is not to say that Arruntius must not have felt or developed a certain loyalty towards Sextus over time, if only out of gratitude. Seen from this perspective, his subsequent leaving of Sextus' camp is somewhat ambiguous. While Arruntius did not desert Sextus but left him in accordance with the terms of the treaty, future conflicts of interest seem to have been imminent, especially during Octavian's Sicilian campaign.

Both Silanus' and Arruntius' cases remind us of the complexity of civil war reality and the challenges it poses for modern research. They also invite us to reflect on the matter of personal loyalty, which is both an intricate and important aspect of civil war.<sup>124</sup> For starters, loyalty to a military commander could and often did inspire one to declare for a given side and was therefore crucial for the initial round of alliance formation. This loyalty was formalised by an oath of obedience to the commander, known as the *sacramentum*.<sup>125</sup> The personal connection this instilled added to the instability of the Late Republican period, allowing commanders to capitalise upon their military strength.<sup>126</sup> Likewise, comradeship among fellow legionaries was a force to be reckoned with. As we have seen, it could trigger legions to fraternise and push for peace rather than for combat. In many instances, however, supporting the side of one's choosing could be hard if not impossible; perhaps more so for ordinary legionnaires than it was for the commanding officers, who were bound to have some more agency in these matters. But loyalty remains above all a dynamic concept, allowing for change over time. Being pardoned and given new opportunities by a former enemy could instil a new sense of loyalty bound to influence one's future conduct. Changing sides, therefore, whether out of more opportune or

<sup>120</sup> *RE* II.1, 1262 (Arr. 7).

<sup>121</sup> *APP.*, *Ciu.* 4.46.

<sup>122</sup> *VELL. PAT.* 2.77.3.

<sup>123</sup> *VELL. PAT.* 2.85.2.

<sup>124</sup> The role of personal loyalty is touched upon by CAMPBELL (1984), 19-32; BRICE (2003), p. 54-58, 82-83; PHANG (2009), p. 117-120. Cf. GLAUNING (1937); FERRIÈS (2007); BORGES (2016).

<sup>125</sup> On the *sacramentum*, see CAMPBELL (1984), 19-32; BRICE (2003), p. 54-58; PHANG (2009), p. 117-120.

<sup>126</sup> See CAMPBELL (1984), 19-32; BRICE (2003), p. 54-58. The disruptive potential of this personal connection between a commander and his troops is also noted by *APP.*, *Ciu.* 5.17.

ideological motivations, remains a complex and hard-to-grasp phenomenon in which personal loyalty was but one of many subconscious matters that drove the decision-making.

One point that the above has made clear, is that changing sides could either pay off, or cost you dearly. The following cases will more explicitly illustrate the dangers inherent in choosing or changing sides. Although related and indebted to Caesar, the *praetor* L. Cornelius Cinna (24)<sup>127</sup> was the first magistrate to turn against his memory once he had been murdered. Labelling the late dictator a tyrant he publicly praised the conspirators, urging the people of Rome to do the same. Having incited the hatred of the people against him,<sup>128</sup> a murderous crowd fell upon Cinna and ripped him apart. However, having mistaken their tribune C. Helvius Cinna for the *praetor* Cornelius, they had murdered the wrong man.<sup>129</sup> Shocked by this violent act, the latter refrained from his earlier policy and took on a more moderate profile. He would, in contrast to the unlucky tribune, at least survive the turbulent aftermath of the Ides of March. One could pay dearly for choosing the wrong side; as Helvius found out to his cost.

One of our final cases concerns Q. Salvidienus Rufus (25),<sup>130</sup> a friend of Octavian who after the Ides served as his adviser and principal commander before the rise of Agrippa.<sup>131</sup> Although being promised a designated consulship in 39, he never assumed the post. Instead, he was convicted of high treason and was forced to commit suicide. According to our sources, Salvidienus had opened secret negotiations with Antony before the Peace of Brundisium. After the peace came into effect, Antony revealed Salvidienus' secret advances. An enraged Octavian acted at once, promptly ending the life of his once trusted friend, adviser, and commander.<sup>132</sup> Whether or not the reasons given for Salvidienus' conviction are sound, the case does underline the dangers which those who were either choosing or changing sides were facing.

As apparent from the examples discussed above, most of the wavering members of the elite were predominantly acting out of opportunistic self-interest when changing allegiance. But there were notable exceptions. Political suicides, for example, formed a recurrent practice throughout these years. Drastic acts as these were not limited to commanders-in-chief such as Brutus and Cassius. We have already encountered Juventius Laterensis.<sup>133</sup> As one of Lepidus'

<sup>127</sup> RE IV.1, 1287-1288 (Cor. 107). For Caesar's service to Cinna, see SUET., *Caes.* 5.

<sup>128</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 2.126; PLUT., *Brut.* 18.13.

<sup>129</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 2.147; CASS. DIO 44.50.4; PLUT., *Brut.* 20.11, *Caes.* 68.6; SUET., *Caes.* 85; VAL. MAX. 9.9.1.

<sup>130</sup> RE IA.2, 2019-2021 (Sal. 4).

<sup>131</sup> VELL. PAT. 2.59.5; CIC., *Ad Brut.* 1.17.4.

<sup>132</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 5.66; CASS. DIO 48.33.1-3; VELL. PAT. 2.76.4; LIV., *Per.* 127; SUET., *Aug.* 66.1-2. For discussion, see BRICE (2003), p. 124-129.

<sup>133</sup> For Juventius Laterensis, see note 24.

commanders at the time of Mutina he witnessed Antony persuade the former's men to declare for him instead. Striking as usual, Velleius (2.63.2) narrates that:

*Sub Antonii ingressum in castra Iuuentius Laterensis, uir uita ac morte consentaneus, cum acerrime suasisset Lepido, ne se cum Antonio hoste iudicato iungeret, inritus consilii gladio se ipse transfixit.*

"At the time when Antony entered the camp, Juuentius Laterensis, who had strongly urged Lepidus not to ally himself with Antony now that he had been declared an enemy of the state, finding his advice of no avail ran himself through with his own sword, consistent unto death."

An ultimate display of *constantia*. The year 43 provides us with another and rather similar example. When Octavian was closing in on Rome, Cornutus, in charge of one of the deserting legions, refused to follow the example set by fellow commanders and killed himself instead.<sup>134</sup>

Taking your life rather than changing your allegiance is as radical as it is suggestive of strong ideological commitment on part of the individual.<sup>135</sup> At the same time, given the existing correlation in ancient Roman thought between the manner of an individual's death and his or her social standing, self-killing is often seen as an act aimed at preserving one's honour.<sup>136</sup> When performed under correct circumstances, suicide enabled one to avoid dishonour; effectively exchanging one's earthly life for a more positive continuation *in memoriam*. Besides ventilating political preferences or displaying an exemplary awareness of the social norms regulating aristocratic society, self-killing could also have more tangible or opportune incentives.<sup>137</sup> For example, Roman law frequently inflicted posthumous sentences upon elite transgressors. Condemnation could result in loss of citizen rights, paving the way for the confiscation of goods and a degradation of status. In most cases, suicide before condemnation terminated all legal proceedings against the accused, thus securing both fortune and standing and their hereditary transmission.<sup>138</sup> Suicides as the ones mentioned above could be driven by specific political ideals, by the preservation of personal or familial *dignitas*, by more opportune motives, or by a combination of these factors. The deaths of Juuentius and Cornutus underline above all the importance of allowing for a bandwidth approach when dealing with civil war dynamics.

<sup>134</sup> APP., *Ciu.* 3.92. For Cornutus, see note 28.

<sup>135</sup> On Roman attitudes towards death in general and suicide in particular, see GRISÉ (1982); GRIFFIN (1986a), (1986b); HINARD (1987); VAN HOOFF (1990); PLASS (1995); KYLE (1998); HILL (2004); HOPE (2009).

<sup>136</sup> VAN HOOFF (1990), p. 79-132; HILL (2004), p. 1-29, 183-212.

<sup>137</sup> HILL (2004), p. 7-21.

<sup>138</sup> On confiscation and degradation, see GRISÉ (1982), p. 252-257; HILL (2004), p. 190-202.

## 2. *Civil war dynamics: recurrent patterns*

So, what can be deduced from the studied material? The first perhaps obvious point that the analysis has made clear is that mutinies and desertions on both an individual and a large-scale level featured regularly during the Late Republic. The large-scale desertions discussed have shown that the incentive for such actions could be provided by the commanders as well as the troops themselves. Commanding officers could repel their troops through too harsh an enforcement of military discipline or by falling short of granting (promised) rewards in the form of donatives or land. An enemy commander could also take a more pro-active stance and try to win over his opponent's legions. Spreading seditious pamphlets or rumours, winning them over with promises of more lavish rewards, or impressing them by displaying his rhetorical abilities or courage provided him with the necessary means. But troops could also take the initiative by, for example, opening communications with fellow soldiers on the 'other side'. Consequently, fraternisation was a force to be reckoned with. Indeed, many of the instances discussed above attest to the fact that the one who was supposed to be in charge sometimes proved unable to control his subordinates. The legions enjoyed more agency than was normally the case in times of peace or regular warfare. This prerequisite of civil strife enabled them to steer the course of events to an unprecedented degree. The instances in which opposing armies refrained from fighting and forced their superiors to reconcile rather than quarrel provide good examples, as does Lepidus' downfall. It also demonstrates the soldiers' need of having a convincing narrative to ascribe to.

But large-scale desertion only formed half of the equation. Perhaps even more interesting are the individual changes of sides discussed above. Following the assumption that the more often a certain individual deserted, the less he could have been driven by ideological aspirations, the first part of the analysis focussed on those who changed sides multiple times. Apart from providing both ancient and modern audiences with intriguing characters, doubtlessly polished for this purpose by the ancient authors themselves, their conduct also strengthens the notion of an opportunistic rather than an ideologically driven elite. As we have seen, for individuals like Dellius (1), Messalla (2), Menodorus (3), Plancus (4), and Silanus (5), and with them many others, it appears to have mainly been preservation and gain that drove them in their decisions to desert. Although their initial declaration for Brutus, Cassius, Octavian, Antony, or Sextus might have been ideologically inspired, their successive defections attest to their lack of persistence in pursuing an ideological cause. And although alleged disgust at Antony's behaviour towards Cleopatra could have had an ideological angle – his repudiation of Roman values, for example – it remains difficult to pin down whether, and if so to which extent, it had served as an actual motivation, or if it became a retrospective justification instead. The rest of the analysis was devoted to those

individuals who deserted only once. Their choices and subsequent careers have highlighted several things worth noting.

First of all, decisive battles served as ‘turning points’ witnessing a great amount of elite desertions. Battles such as Philippi, Naulochus, and Actium made deserters of those who preferred to live rather than to die for what they believed was, or had been, ‘the better cause’. Whereas most of them changed sides after the actual battle was fought and defeat was upon them, several times individuals chose to desert prior to the battle instead, especially before Actium. Apparently, to those making these decisions, Antony’s cause or strategic chances at the time seemed to have been less compelling than those of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi or those of Sextus at Naulochus. Antony’s infatuation with Cleopatra and the influence she exerted on his policy would crystallise into a recurrent literary trope. If this motive was genuine for Delilius (1), Messalla (2), Plancus (4), Silanus (5), Ahenobarbus (6), or Titius (9) when changing sides, remains unclear. It seems more likely that it served as a convenient excuse offering them and later authors a way of justifying their choices by conforming to the propaganda directed against Antony. As such, these defections once more emphasise the importance of having a justifying narrative: both in a contemporary sense for those trying to go unpunished or seeking to retain their *dignitas*, as well as for later generations as it stressed the moral superiority of Octavian-Augustus’ cause and hence underpinned the new era.

Secondly, although a huge number of senators and *equites* perished during the conflict, a considerable number of those who deserted at the right time or place, or who brought with them certain information, skills, or troops, or who were of a certain standing, had a good chance of being welcomed in their new faction or, somewhat later, to be reintegrated in the *novus status*. A substantial number of those discussed eventually managed to return to public life, pursuing a political career with varying levels of success. Some of the most illustrious among them, such as Messalla (2), were even able to voice their occasional disagreement. On this topic, an insightful remark worth mentioning here has been put forward by Welch, who argues that “only former opponents could proclaim with credibility and authority that the disruption was indeed over and that the ideological battles had been settled. Augustus needed their memoirs to be in the public domain to stand beside and reinforce the message of his own.”<sup>139</sup>

Thirdly, a significant number of people will have preferred to remain neutral and might have pressed for peace until the turmoil of the civil wars caught up with them. The proscriptions provide us with the most striking examples. When your name appeared on the list of proscribed you either fled or risked persecution. Ending up on Sicily in the service of Sextus, but returning to Rome once the political climate allowed for it, Arruntius (23) was only one

<sup>139</sup> WELCH (2009), p. 209.



of many.<sup>140</sup> These instances remind us of the intrinsic complexity of the civil wars. They also indicate that it is hard to fit everyone in one of the existing categories. Whereas Lucilius (19) would follow Antony with the same vigour as he had displayed towards Brutus, others would just as easily desert their new superiors once a chance to improve their situation presented itself. And just as there was no standard prototype for 'the deserter', commanders varied as well. While Parmensis (12) and Turullius (20) were accepted in Antony's service, they were executed upon capture by Octavian. Although this does not imply that the latter was a crueller commander *per se*, it does show that someone's past – in these cases having conspired against Caesar – could and did influence future conduct. The factors which would-be-deserters needed to take into account made the decision to change sides extremely hard, even though it featured frequently. There was therefore no such thing as a light-hearted defection. Nevertheless, the chaos and anxiety of the period turned wavering loyalties into a structural aspect of daily life. And even when ideologically committed at the outset, civil war reality could weigh heavily upon those who were caught up in it.

### 3. *Changing sides: ideology and opportunism*

This article studied changes of sides on both the level of the 'rank and file' and the elite to gain more insight in the phenomenon itself, to substantiate our understanding of civil war dynamics, and to determine what part ideology and opportunism played throughout these conflicts. What drove legions to desert? When and why did some commanders change sides, while others ran themselves through with their swords instead? Christia's theory on civil war factionalism drew attention to the intrinsic complexity of this sort of conflicts, be they ancient or modern. She further argued that relative power considerations rather than shared identity considerations determine alliance formations. Ideological claims on the other hand, she argued, tend to serve as *post facto* justifications. The analysis has shown that the quests for self-preservation and post-war political power loomed as large in the studied conflict as it does in modern counterparts. But to simply argue that opportunism prevailed over ideology would be pushing it too far. It is true that the course of war and its violent outbursts in particular would eventually rip apart the ideological fabric to which many of the elite tried to adhere. Once the 'faction of choice' was defeated in battle, most of them, with few exceptions, preferred to live rather than to die for one's principles. Desertions became an integral part of civil wartime reality. But this should not press us to overgeneralise these findings. As stressed before,

<sup>140</sup> See SCHOR (1978), p. 79-80, 88-174 for discussion on those of the proscribed who were indebted to Sextus. More generally on the proscriptions, see HINARD (1985), esp. p. 311, 415-552. For the composition of Sextus' following, see WELCH (2002b), p. 44-49.

ideological claims were certainly crucial for the initial round of alliance formation. And even when opportunism seems to have been the predominant driving force behind a defection, deeper, more ideologically rooted factors are likely to have played their part as well. Reflections on personal loyalty and political suicides in particular served to underline this intricacy. If our analysis has taught us one thing, it is that the period's political manoeuvring was influenced by a myriad of factors and that each change of side was the result of a multitude of variables coming together. Consequently, the key to understanding the broader dynamics of civil war lies in listening to the different voices that made it up.<sup>141</sup> In our attempts to do so, we are naturally dependent upon the available sources, which by their very nature are bound to influence our argument to some degree, both by what they choose to tell us and the way in which they do. This article has tackled this challenge by building on a multitude of inquiries, which allowed it to paint a comprehensive picture. A final comment concerns the civil war environment. Opportunistic choices of allegiance as witnessed on this scale were made possible by the unique character of the period. With the desperate need for manpower, no commander-in-chief could afford to alienate his soldiers. All of the warring parties were in need of skilful commanders and high-standing individuals alike; the former's role being clear, the latter having at their disposal their networks and vast resources. As a result, mutineers and deserters stood a real chance of going unpunished, or even of improving their current situation by making the right choices. But this insubordination had strict temporal limitations.<sup>142</sup> Once the civil wars had ended and order had been restored, there would no longer be room for indiscipline of this kind, and incentives for changing sides would soon fade away. But during the tides of civil strife, many would find that it was easier to adjust their course when needed and drift along rather than to stay true to their ideological convictions and swim against the current.

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<sup>141</sup> As noted by OSGOOD (2006), p. 48.

<sup>142</sup> KEAVENEY (2007), p. 90.

## Appendix: List of Individuals\*

		Reference ( <i>RE</i> )	Changes	Initial loyalty <sup>1</sup>	To Whom and When
1	Q. Dellius	IV.2; 2447-2448 (Del.)	3	Dolabella	Cassius 43; Antony 42; Octavian 31
2	M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus	VIII.A.1; 131-157 (Val. 261)	2 [4] <sup>2</sup>	Brutus (42)	Antony 42; [Octavian 35; Antony 34;] Octavian 32
3	Menodorus	XV.1; 896-900 (Men. 1)	3	Sextus (40)	Octavian 38; Sextus 37; Octavian 36
4	L. Munatius Plancus	XVI.1; 545-551 (Mun. 30)	1 [3] <sup>3</sup>	Senate	[Decimus Brutus 43; Antony 43;] Octavian 32
5	M. Iunius Silanus	X.1; 1095-1096 (Iun. 172)	2 [4] <sup>4</sup>	Lepidus (43)	[Antony 43]; Sextus 43; [Antony (?); Octavian 31
6	Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus	V.1; 1328-1331 (Dom. 23)	2	Brutus/Cassius (44)	Antony 40; Octavian 31
7	M. Licinius Crassus	XIII.1; 270-285 (Lic. 58)	2	Sextus	Antony 36; Octavian 31
8	Lucius Plinius Rufus	XXI.1; 270-271 (Plin. 4)	2	Sextus	Lepidus 36; Octavian 36

\* In this Appendix, square brackets are used to indicate that there has been a change of allegiance, but that it is debatable whether or not it is to be classified as a desertion. Regular bracketed question marks indicate that there is some uncertainty as to when a certain change of allegiance took place.

<sup>1</sup> Please note that the initial loyalty as represented here constitutes the situation after the Ides of March.

<sup>2</sup> Messalla served Octavian for some time before returning into Antony's service; it is unclear if this was the result of mutual consent between Antony and Octavian.

<sup>3</sup> Plancus was a staunch supporter of Caesar. He nonetheless joined forces with Decimus Brutus, one of Caesar's murderers, upon Senate's orders. Switching from Decimus to Antony when the former was proscribed was again in line with the Senate's policy. Both changes of allegiance can arguably be counted as desertions.

<sup>4</sup> Provided with vague instructions, Silanus' initial choice to join Antony is arguably a desertion. Silanus then left Sextus in accordance with the terms of Misenum.

9	M. Titius	VIA.2; 1559-1562 (Tit. 18)	1	Antony (39)	Octavian 32
10	L. Scribonius Libo	IIA.1; 881-885 (Scrib. 20)	1	Sextus	Antony 35
11	M. Aemilius Scaurus	I; 590 (Aem. 142)	1	Sextus	Antony 35
12	C. Cassius Parmensis	III.2; 1743-1744 (Cas. 80)	1 [2] <sup>5</sup>	Brutus / Cassius (44)	[Sextus 42]; Antony 35
13	Sentius Saturninus Vetulo	IIA.2; 1511-1526* (Sen. 9)	1 [2] <sup>6</sup>	Sextus (43)	Antony 35; [Octavian (31?)]
14	Q. Minucius Thermus	XV.2; 1972-1974 (Min. 67)	2 [3] <sup>7</sup>	Senate (43)	Sextus (43?); Antony 35; [Octavian (?)]
15	C. Antistius Reginus	I; 2558 (Ant. 39)	1	Sextus	Antony 35
16	Q. Nasidius	XVI.2; 1789-1790 (Nas. 4)	1	Sextus (44/43)	Antony 35
17	C. Fannius	VI.2; 1991-1992 (Fan. 9)	1	Sextus (43)	Antony 35
18	L. Gellius Poplicola	VII.1; 1003-1005 (Gel. 18)	1	Brutus (43)	Antony 43
19	Lucilius	XIII.2; 1617 (Luc. 2)	1	Brutus	Antony 42
20	D. Turullius	VIIA.2; 1451-1452 (Tur. 1)	1	Brutus/Cassius (44)	Antony 42
21	Q. Horatius Flaccus (Horace)	VIII.2; 2336-2344 (Hor. 10)	1	Brutus (44/43)	Octavian 42
22	L. Sempronius Atratinus	IIA.2; 1366-1368 (Sem. 26)	1	Antony	Octavian (after 34, before 31?)

<sup>5</sup> Switching from Brutus / Cassius to Sextus after Philippi was a change of allegiance, but by no means a desertion given that the Triumvirs served as common enemy.

<sup>6</sup> Given that Saturninus' son (cos. 19) was a staunch supporter of Octavian, it can arguably be assumed that Saturninus at some point sided with Octavian.

<sup>7</sup> Although probable, it remains unclear if Thermus, after negotiating peace with Antony, was also reconciled with Octavian at some point.

23	L. Arruntius	II.1; 1262 (Arr. 7)	[1] <sup>8</sup>	Sextus (43)	Octavian (after 39, before 31?)
24	L. Cornelius Cinna	IV.1; 1287-1288 (Cor. 107)	n/a <sup>9</sup>	n/a	n/a
25	Q. Salvidienus Rufus	IA.2; 2019-2021 (Sal. 4)	[1] <sup>10</sup>	Octavian	[Antony 39]
26	L. Staius Murcus	IIIA.2; 2136-2139 (Stai. 2)	[2] <sup>11</sup>	Senate (44)	[Cassius 44; Sextus 41]

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<sup>8</sup> Arruntius left Sextus in accordance with the terms of Misenum. It is unknown if he fought against Sextus during Octavian's Sicilian campaign.

<sup>9</sup> Cinna did not really change sides, but has been included to illustrate the dangers inherent in choosing sides rather explicitly.

<sup>10</sup> Salvidienus did not succeed in changing sides, as his secret advances towards Antony were communicated towards Octavian after the Peace of Brundisium.

<sup>11</sup> Murcus legitimately joined Cassius, given that the latter was invested with proconsular power. He switched to Sextus after Philippi; see Appendix note 5.

\* Contributions that have appeared after the submission of this article in 2017 have not been included.

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# Livia and *Concordia* in Tacitus' *Annals*

## 1. Introduction

This article discusses the connection between Livia and *Concordia* that is advertised during her lifetime, and argues that Tacitus responds to this public portrait in his characterization of Livia in his *Annals*. Material contemporary with Livia's lifetime lauds the empress as a model of womanhood, who takes on the responsibility of maintaining *concordia* within her household. This ideal is central to her stable marriage, the lasting dynasty, and the health of the state. Tacitus recognizes Livia's connection to *concordia* as central to her public image and to her memorialization. However, Tacitus also illustrates that Livia's actions towards her own family members offer a sharp contrast with her public portrait. Tacitus exposes the ambiguity of Livia's model while confirming her consequential role in presenting the appearance of *concordia*.

The following analysis builds on scholarship on women in Tacitus by focusing on *concordia* in his portrait of Livia. Past scholars have argued that Tacitus presents Julio-Claudian women as overwhelmingly negative from a moral standpoint. They are, "transgressive, violators of the established female role and ideal,"<sup>1</sup> "makers of kings," or "usurpers" of political power.<sup>2</sup> Such women contribute to Tacitus' overall critique of the Principate.<sup>3</sup> Examining Livia together with *concordia* offers new insight. In order to understand Tacitus' Livia, this article presents a brief history of *Concordia* as a divine quality and *concordia* as a domestic and political ideal, shows that Livia was aligned with *Concordia* in her public image, and interprets Tacitus' portrayal of Livia as a response to her public representation.<sup>4</sup> In analyzing Livia's imitators and detractors, monuments and honors, this article demonstrates how Tacitus represents

<sup>1</sup> FISCHLER (1994), p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> RUTLAND (1978); SANTORO L'HOIR (1994). Cf. SPÄTH (1994) on gender terms in Tacitus. Cf. GINSBURG (2006) on Agrippina the Younger, who serves as a representation of rhetorical stereotypes including the *saeua nouerca*, the *dux femina*, the sexual transgressor, and the domineering mother.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. PARKS (2008), p. 281ff. divides Tacitus' women into "masculine" or "feminine" types, and demonstrates that Tacitus uses gendered virtues and vices to characterize imperial women as "symptoms" of the flaws of one-man rule.

<sup>4</sup> CLARK'S (2007) study of divine qualities that received public cult during the Roman Republic has shown the importance of such ideals to the ways in which Romans created community and thought about themselves. Divine qualities could be concretized through their association with a particular individual.

Livia as a promoter of *concordia* in public, while drawing attention to her poignantly discordant relationships with other members of the imperial household. In his obituary of Livia, Tacitus challenges Livia's posthumous memory as an *exemplum* of *concordia* and identifies flaws in her representation as a model of this ideal.

## 2. Concordia and concordia

*Concordia* has religious, political, and social aspects, and a lengthy history in Roman cult worship. The concept is based on the Greek idea of *homonoia*, but acquires a distinctly Roman nuance. In general, the presence of *concordia* suggests a state of agreement of an entity's constitutive parts, whether this refers to partners in marriage, family members, other relationships, or the state. In his *de re publica* (1.49.1), Cicero contends that *concordia* lies at the basis of both strong families and strong states, and that a firm state emerges when the populace strives together towards safety and freedom. Sallust's Micipsa clarifies the influence of political leaders in the maintenance of harmony, declaring that states in which *concordia* exists can grow, especially when there is *concordia* between leaders, whereas a state in discord will fall.<sup>5</sup> *Concordia* emerges as a volatile quality, which may be dissolved by disproportionate levels of power or ambition among leaders. Political harmony became highly contested during the civil wars of the late Republic, and acquired new meaning under Augustus, when a specifically Augustan *Concordia* emerged.<sup>6</sup> The composite ideal implied that the harmony within the *domus Augusta* was inseparable from the harmony of the state. A brief overview of this development establishes the parameters of the concept and when these boundaries shifted.

During the middle and late Republic, *Concordia* was honored with temples and cult worship, and connected to the harmony of the state.<sup>7</sup> *Concordia* was one of a number of divine qualities that received cult and was monumentalized in Rome between the end of the fourth and the early second centuries BC. A shrine to *Concordia* was constructed during the Conflict of the Orders by

<sup>5</sup> Cf. SALL., *Iug.* 10.6: *Nam concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maximae dilabuntur*, "For through *concordia* small states grow, through *discordia* the greatest states are destroyed." Cf. LOBUR (2008), p. 44 on the view of Polybius, the Scipios, and Posidonius, that "*Concordia* and its associated virtues denoted a state of consummate strength for a community, but the opposite was seen as inevitably leading to its downfall."

<sup>6</sup> See AKAR (2013) for an analysis of *concordia* in the late Republic. See LOBUR (2008) and especially p. 37-58 on *concordia* at the end of the Republic as an ideological base for the Principate.

<sup>7</sup> On the Republican temples to state *Concordia* and Tiberius' restoration in particular, cf. LEVICK (1978); RICHARDSON (1978); JAL (1961); WEINSTOCK (1971), p. 260-266; MOMIGLIANO (1942); SKARD (1967); GASPARRI (1979). For a brief overview of "official" references to *concordia* in the early Principate, see LOBUR (2008), p. 90-93.

Cn. Flavius in 304 BC, and a temple was established in the forum at the base of the Capitoline hill in 121 BC by L. Opimius, the consul responsible for the death of Gaius Gracchus and several thousand of his supporters.<sup>8</sup> Both temple constructions were political as well as aspirational: a state of *concordia* was desired, if not present, at the time of dedication.

During his consulship in 63 BC, Cicero capitalized on the notion of political *concordia*, coining the term, *concordia ordinum*.<sup>9</sup> For Cicero, *concordia* implied a peace within the state that included harmony between the orders, as well as between the equites and the senate.<sup>10</sup> The *concordia ordinum* was central to his political program of 63 BC, after which it developed into the idea of a *concordia ciuium* or *concordia ciuitatis* and thence into the *consensus omnium bonorum*.<sup>11</sup> Cicero's ideal is reflected in Republican coinage.<sup>12</sup> *Concordia* appears as a veiled and diademed female deity, similar to *Salus*, *Ceres*, or *Vesta*.<sup>13</sup> Symbols of *concordia* (clasped hands, the *caduceus*) appear on coins with the legend *Pietas* during the conflict between Caesar and Pompey, and *concordia* is associated with *pax* after Pompey's death.<sup>14</sup> The image of a *caduceus* between clasped right hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) became a symbol of *concordia* on coinage of the late Republic, perhaps specifically of *concordia* between the triumvirs.<sup>15</sup>

Men of good character who work for the common interest are required as leaders of a concordant state with the potential for growth. A similar association between character and action is fundamental for marital *concordia*, where comparable images appear: the *dextrarum iunctio* between a couple symbolized that

<sup>8</sup> See CLARK (2007), p. 47-69 on shrines established in this period; p. 49 on the shrine to *Concordia* established in 304 BC; p. 121-123 on the temple of *Concordia* established in 121 BC by L. Opimius.

<sup>9</sup> See for example CIC., *In Cat.* 4.15. See AKAR (2013), p. 240-329 on *concordia* in Cicero. Cf. LOBUR (2008), p. 50-58.

<sup>10</sup> See BÉRANGER (1969), p. 367.

<sup>11</sup> See STRASBURGER (1931) on the concept of the *concordia ordinum*; LEPORE (1954) on the rhetorical transition to *consensus omnium bonorum*.

<sup>12</sup> See CRAWFORD (1974), p. 441, no. 415 on the 62 BC *denarius* of L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus honoring *Concordia* and the *concordia ordinum* of Cicero. Cf. CRAWFORD (1974), p. 442, no. 417; p. 453, no. 429.

<sup>13</sup> BÉRANGER (1969), p. 370. As ALFÖLDI (1956), p. 89 shows, *Concordia* appears on coinage in times of civic discord, e.g. after the death of Sulla, during Caesar's first consulate, after the murder of Clodius, and prior to Philippi. *Concordia* reappears on *sestertii* of both Galba and Vitellius during the civil conflict of AD 68-69; for examples, see SUTHERLAND / CARSON (1984), p. 248, no. 339; p. 250, no. 380 for Galba; p. 275, no. 133 for Vitellius.

<sup>14</sup> See CRAWFORD (1974), p. 457, no. 436 for the moneyer L. Vinicius' *Concordia* coin of 52 BC; p. 466, no. 450.2 for *Pietas* with the symbols of *felicitas* and *concordia* on a coin of 48 BC. DIO CASS. 44.4.5 records a decision of the senate to build a temple of *Concordia Noua* after the death of Pompey.

<sup>15</sup> See CRAWFORD (1974), p. 510-511; p. 532, no. 529.4a, 4b.

a marriage had taken place. Unlike the state, the peace of the *domus* depended predominantly on the *materfamilias*.<sup>16</sup> A life of marital *concordia* is praised on funerary epitaphs of wives and couples, and such inscriptions suggest that *concordia* was especially valued in the memory of a wife.<sup>17</sup> Tacitus celebrates this quality and uses the marriage of his father-in-law Agricola and Domitia Decidiana as his definitive model: *uixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam caritatem et in uicem se anteposendo, nisi quod in bona uxore tanto maior laus, quanto in mala plus culpa est* (Agr. 6.1).<sup>18</sup> Their manner of living is described by the phrase *mira concordia*, a unique juxtaposition in Latin that indicates Tacitus' admiration for this relationship.<sup>19</sup> Tacitus qualifies the reciprocal nature of *concordia* by placing the burden on the wife's shoulders: a woman may be praised or blamed for the status of her marriage by a judging audience.

Domestic harmony may be tested by a variety of factors: if marital *concordia* crumbles, it is the wife's duty to rebuild it. According to Valerius Maximus, a cult of *Viriplaca* existed for the purpose of repairing and extending marital concord. The etymology of the cult commissions the wife with placating her husband through participation in the rite (*dea nomen hoc a placandis uiris fertur adsecuta*, Val. Max. 2.1.6). Valerius gives the etymology of the cult (named nowhere else in Latin literature) and identifies a unique goddess *cotidianae ac domesticae pacis custos*, the "guardian of daily and domestic peace" (2.1.6).<sup>20</sup> The cult of *Viriplaca* and the prevalence of divorce suggest the difficulty of maintaining this peace.<sup>21</sup>

The requirements for *concordia* within a marriage are similar to those for an entire *domus* or extended family. Whereas conjugal harmony depends on the agreement between two people, familial harmony depends upon an entire household and is thus more fragile. The *Caristia* feast provides a corollary to the cult of *Viriplaca*: the celebration affords the opportunity to acknowledge and abolish quarrels between family members (Val. Max. 2.1.8). *Concordia* is expressed through the display of *pietas* towards the ancestors, and the absence of impious actions towards living family members.<sup>22</sup> In Ovid's account of the

<sup>16</sup> See BROWN (1995) on the ideal of marital *concordia* and the prominent role played by women in its promotion in Livy's narrative of the rape of the Sabines.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. *CIL* 1.1220; 2.3596; 6.9663; 6.13300; 6.37556.

<sup>18</sup> "They lived in remarkable harmony, through mutual affection and by giving preference to each other in turn, save only that there is greater esteem in a good wife, just as much as a greater amount of blame in a bad one."

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Germanicus characterized by *mira comitas* (Ann. 1.33.2). Suetonius Paulinus has *mira constantia* (Ann. 14.33.1).

<sup>20</sup> As noted by SHACKLETON BAILEY (2000), p. 132, n. 8.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. PLIN., *Ep.* 4.19 to Calpurnia Hispulla on the *concordia* of his marriage to Calpurnia's niece, which he hopes will be *perpetua* and will increase over time.

<sup>22</sup> Three aspects of the occasion assist in the cancellation of family quarrels: the sacred rites established by the ancestors, the joy of those present, and the actions of

festival, *Concordia* plays an especially prominent role.<sup>23</sup> Participants close the feast with a prayer for the health of Caesar, the *pater patriae*, and his family: *bene uos, bene te, patriae pater, optime Caesar* (*Fast.* 2.637). The concluding prayer honors Augustus as the model *paterfamilias* for the state.

An additional passage in Ovid's *Fasti* establishes the ideals of sincere *pietas* and growth as the twin goals of familial *concordia*. At the beginning of the month of June, *Concordia* enters into a three-part debate with Juno and Hebe over the origins of the month's name (*Fast.* 6.91-96):

*uenit Apollinea longas Concordia lauro  
nexa comas, placidi numen opusque ducis.  
haec ubi narrauit Tatium fortemque Quirinum  
binaque cum populis regna coisse suis,  
et lare communi soceros generosque receptos,  
'his nomen iunctis Iunius' inquit 'habet.'*

"Concordia, the divinity and labor of a peaceful leader, arrived with Apolline laurel entwined in her long hair. When she told of Tatius and strong Quirinus and said that two realms had united with their people, and that sons-in-law and fathers-in-law had been received by a common *Lar*, she said, 'It has the name of June from these unions'."

Ovid's *Concordia* describes the joining together of families in the formation of the early Roman state, suggesting that familial and state *concordia* have been inseparable from Rome's earliest beginnings. Livy's account of the Sabines presents a similar coordination of state and family concerns (1.9-13). In his effort to soothe the Sabine women after their capture, Romulus emphasizes that the women will be married and become partners (*in societate*) in all of their husband's fortunes, in the state, and in their children (1.9.14-16). After Romulus defeats the Antemnates, Hersilia, on the request of the captive women, asks that he receive them within the state, which will gain strength through *concordia*: Romulus agrees (1.11.2). After the Sabine women enter the battle and instigate peace between the Romans and the Sabines, Livy recounts the division of the people into thirty *curiae* (named after the women), and concludes his account with the two kings, whose joint rule was harmonious from that time onward, *concors* (1.13.8).

During the reign of Augustus, *concordia* became associated with the emperor and his family, as well as with the role of that family in maintaining political harmony. As Béranger argues, *concordia* is the prerogative of the emperor.<sup>24</sup>

participants labeled as the *fautores concordiae*, cf. VAL. MAX. 2.1.8 *apud sacra mensae et inter hilaritatem animorum et fautoribus concordiae adhibitis*.

<sup>23</sup> OV., *Fast.* 2.631-634; see 617-638 for the entire account of the feast.

<sup>24</sup> BÉRANGER (1969), p. 373. Coinage of the Julio-Claudian Principate uses *Concordia* as a political slogan, visibly connecting imperial family *concordia* to the state through identifying imperial family members such as Drusilla with the divine quality. Sesterces

The political and social aspects of *concordia* are combined in the identification and celebration of an Augustan Concord. This idea is comparable to imperial concepts such as the *Pax Augusta* and to virtues such as *pietas* that Augustus associated with his reign.<sup>25</sup> In Ovid's *Fasti* (3.879-882), *Concordia* is among a group of deities honored on March 30<sup>th</sup> who are central to the Augustan program:

*inde quater pastor saturos ubi clausurit haedos,  
canuerint herbae rore recente quater,  
Ianus adorandus cumque hoc Concordia mitis  
et Romana Salus Araque Pacis erit.*

"When the shepherd has penned his pastured kids four times, and the grasses have grown white four times with fresh dew, Janus must be revered and together with him gentle Concordia, Salus Romana, and the Ara Pacis."

Ovid exhorts the reader to revere and admire three deities and an altar. Although the object or objects of worship are unclear, Ovid's phrasing creates a close connection between *Pax*, *Salus*, and *Concordia*.<sup>26</sup> *Concordia* is *mitis*, as at the *Caristia* (*Fast.* 2.632). *Concordia* is a calming force, central to the maintenance of the Augustan peace.

The calming nature of Ovid's *Concordia* leads to one final aspect of *concordia* as a quality of the soul. In politics and in the family, *concordia* requires each individual to strive towards the same goal of harmony. In his moral epistles, Seneca identifies the quality of consistency as the central element of *concordia*. This quality is derived from a discussion on the proper response to the death of a loved one (*Ep.* 74.30):

*Non affligatur sapiens liberorum amissione, non amicorum; eodem enim animo  
fert illorum mortem quo suam exspectat; non magis hanc timet quam illam dolet.  
Virtus enim conuenientia constat: omnia opera eius cum ipsa concordant et*

of Caligula dated to AD 37-38 display the emperor's sisters as divine qualities, with Agrippina as *Salus-Securitas*, Drusilla as *Concordia*, and Julia Livilla as *Fortuna*; cf. e.g. SUTHERLAND / CARSON (1984), p. 110, no. 33, pl. 33 (BMC 37). See SUTHERLAND / CARSON (1984), p. 153, no. 48 (BMC 61) for Neronian coinage from AD 64-65 with *Concordia* holding a *cornucopia* and *patera*, and the legend *Concordia Augusta*. Cf. KRAUS (2005), p. 191-195 on Augustus' fashioning of himself and his family and associates as *exempla*: Augustus became both "a conduit of Republican *exempla* and the creator of new ones for the imperial future" (p. 194-195).

<sup>25</sup> FEARS (1981), p. 886: "The cult epithet *Augusta*, attached to Pax, Justitia, Concordia, and Providentia, expressed the quintessence of the personalization of the cult of Virtues at Rome."

<sup>26</sup> DIO CASS. 54.35.1 records that Augustus had rerouted money intended for statues of himself to statues of the goddesses *Concordia*, *Salus*, and *Pax* in 10 BC; FRAZER (1929), vol. 3, p. 158 *ad* 3.158, argues for the dedication of a temple to all three goddesses on March 30<sup>th</sup>; JAL (1961), p. 221 argues that the three statues of the goddesses were all placed in the temple of Janus.



*congruent. Haec concordia perit si animus, quem excelsum esse oportet, luctu aut desiderio summittitur.*

"The wise man is not distressed by the loss of children or friends. For he endures their death in the same spirit with which he awaits his own. And he fears the one no more than he grieves for the other. For virtue stands firm through conformity; all the works of virtue are in harmony and agreement with virtue itself. But this harmony perishes if the soul, which ought to be uplifted, is cast down by grief or a sense of loss."

Seneca suggests that the response of the *sapiens* must match his internal state of mind: he does not grieve or fear death, but remains uplifted. The *uirtus* of the *sapiens* stands firm through the internal harmony of all of its parts, and all of the works of *uirtus* are in agreement with the concept itself (*concordant et congruent*). *Concordant*, the verb formed from *concor*s, refers to a state of being;<sup>27</sup> in the *sapiens* who has *uirtus*, all aspects of the soul are in a state of agreement with each other.<sup>28</sup> *Haec concordia* takes into consideration the entire preceding sentence: the soul of the *sapiens* is harmoniously virtuous, and his actions match his character. This is identified as a state of *concordia*. An inconsistent soul results in the destruction of *concordia*. The idea that mind and action must be complementary implies the absence of deception. This consistency is liable to emotional testing and difficult to maintain. This aspect of *concordia* is most fragile in the imperial household: dissimulation is a hallmark of many of its members, and particularly relevant for the identification of true or false *concordia* in the relationship between Livia and Tiberius, discussed below.

### 3. *Livia and Concordia in the material record*

Augustus extended his ideal of political *concordia* to include his household, connecting the *concordia* of the imperial *domus* to the *concordia* of the state.<sup>29</sup> The position of women in this composite *concordia* becomes difficult to confine within the *domus*, and their potential to be positive models of womanhood is consequently complicated.<sup>30</sup> Despite this complication, Livia is connected to

<sup>27</sup> Cf. VARRO's etymology of the divinity *Concordia*: *Concordia a corde congruente* (*Ling.* 5.73).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. CIC., *Tusc.* 4.13.30: *animi* (sc. *sanitas*) *dicitur, cum eius iudicia opinionisque concordant*; SEN., *Ep.* 75.4: *concordet sermo cum uita*.

<sup>29</sup> As KELLUM (1990), p. 278 notes, "In the Augustan era ... the concord of the state and the concord of the imperial family became one and the same." On the fusion of politics and the imperial *domus* in general, see MILNOR (2005); SEVERY (2003). On *concordia* as both political and familial in the age of Augustus, see for example LEVICK (1978); KELLUM (1990); FLORY (1984).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. WELCH (2011) on Velleius Paterculus' laudatory portrait of Livia: Livia's triumviral past contains lessons for an imperial audience, and her connection to the renewed cults of *Fortuna*, *Concordia*, and *Salus* assists in transmitting her message to

*concordia* in material culture and literature during her lifetime. Both bodies of evidence indicate that Livia had a primary role in creating and maintaining *concordia* within the *domus Augusta* as well as in the Roman Empire.<sup>31</sup>

In public imagery, Livia symbolizes ideals connected with family, including fecundity, growth, and motherhood.<sup>32</sup> Livia was portrayed as a model wife and mother, and honored with titles such as *Pietas Augusta* and *Genetrix Orbis*.<sup>33</sup> She appeared in public sculpture and on dynastic monuments, beginning with the *Ara Pacis*, where she leads a multi-generational procession of members of the imperial *domus*. Livia's position following Agrippa and Augustus indicates her prominent role in the *domus Augusta*, which, at the time the altar was built (13-9 BC), was full of young potential heirs. The appearance of living family members on a state monument was unprecedented and proclaimed a connection between the imperial family and statewide peace.<sup>34</sup>

Although the level of authority imperial women had over their public imagery remains a matter of debate,<sup>35</sup> Livia had a definite impact on her public memory through her utilization of her private wealth to fund building and restoration projects.<sup>36</sup> Ovid celebrates Livia as the *princeps femina*,<sup>37</sup> and shows that her public benefactions enhanced the image of her harmonious domestic life.<sup>38</sup> According to the *Fasti*, Livia restored the temple of the *Bona Dea*, whose rites were performed by the Vestals.<sup>39</sup> Livia herself received honors similar to those of the Vestals, beginning with the power of *sacrosanctitas* in 35 BC.<sup>40</sup>

the *matronae* on how to adapt to and thrive in Augustan Rome. Cf. SANTORO L'HOIR (1992), p. 118-119, on Velleius' Livia.

<sup>31</sup> As PURCELL (1986), p. 88 argues, "She became a guaratrix and instrument of the Augustan peace."

<sup>32</sup> On the origins of imperial women in public material culture see FLORY (1993); HEMELRIJK (2005); WOOD (1992), (1998). Cf. SEVERY (2003), p. 31. On Livia as symbolic of these ideals, see MIKOCKI (1995). On coinage with women identified as deities see GIACOSA (1977).

<sup>33</sup> DIERICH (2000), p. 251-255; cf. BARTMAN (1998).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. ROSE (1997), p. 15: "The most striking feature of this monument is the public presentation of contemporary families."

<sup>35</sup> See WOODHULL (2003), p. 23-25 for the debate on who paid for buildings named after imperial family members, including the Portico of Octavia and the Portico of Livia.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. ALEXANDRIDIS (2000).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Ov., *Trist.* 1.6.25; *ex Pont.* 3.1.125. On Livia as the *princeps femina* in Ovid's exile poetry, see THAKUR (2014). Cf. BRÄNNSTEDT (2016).

<sup>38</sup> THAKUR (2014), p. 176 argues that Ovid's portrayal of Livia "is a reflection of her status both in Rome and the empire," a status that "Augustan and Tiberian ideology acknowledged and promoted."

<sup>39</sup> For the etiologies of the *Bona Dea* festival see HERBERT-BROWN (1994), p. 131ff.

<sup>40</sup> Livia also received the *ius trium liberorum* in 9 BC (the same honor was granted the Vestals in AD 9), and the right to use the *carpentum* (DIO CASS. 60.22.2; SUET., *Cal.* 15.1, *Claud.* 11.2). From AD 23 Livia sat with the Vestals in the theater (TAC., *Ann.* 4.16.4), and the Vestals later attended to Livia's divine cult (DIO CASS. 60.5.2).

Ovid specifies that Livia's dedication is complementary to Augustus' public actions: she restored the temple, *Liuiā restituit, ne non imitata maritum / esset et ex omni parte secuta uirum*, "lest she fail to have imitated and followed her husband in every way" (*Fast.* 5.157-158). Livia's restoration of a Republican cult site centered on domestic interests forms part of the overall Augustan building program, which centered on the celebration of the new state.<sup>41</sup>

Livia's dedication of a shrine to *Concordia* on the Oppian Hill solidified her material connection to the divine quality. Ovid refers to Livia's *aedes Concordiae* in tandem with a description of the origins of the *Porticus Liuiæ*, built by Augustus on the land bequeathed him by the equestrian Vedius Pollio.<sup>42</sup> Tiberius and Livia dedicated the portico together in January of 7 BC as part of the celebrations of Tiberius' triumph.<sup>43</sup> The dedication by mother and son provided an opportunity for the public presentation of familial *concordia*, connecting the imperial family and perhaps Livia herself to Tiberius' military success.<sup>44</sup> The proximity of portico and shrine in the *Fasti* ties together the building programs of husband and wife, while maintaining their separate functions. The appearance and exact placement of the shrine remains unclear; however, scholars agree that the shrine was likely located within the portico.<sup>45</sup> Their position on the Oppian Hill set both monuments away from the Forum and its public buildings. Livia is associated with a domestic ideal through her shrine (Ov., *Fast.* 6.637-638):

*te quoque magnifica, Concordia, dedicat aede  
Liuiā, quam caro praestitit ipsa iro.*

"Livia consecrated you also, Concordia, with a magnificent shrine, you whom she herself provided to her dear husband."

Livia celebrates *concordia* through the dedication. Ovid aligns this *concordia* with an ideal of married life, but wider implications may be present. The

<sup>41</sup> THAKUR (2014), p. 184 notes that Ovid grants Livia agency as the subject in these lines, but acknowledges that she remains subordinate to Augustus through following his example.

<sup>42</sup> On the separate meanings of portico and shrine, see FLORY (1984); contra RICHARDSON (1992), p. 100. Cf. RICHARDSON (1978), p. 267 on the possible dedication of the entire edifice to *Concordia*.

<sup>43</sup> On the dedication of the *Porticus Liuiæ*, see DIO CASS. 55.8.1ff.; SUET., *Aug.* 29; Ov., *Fast.* 6.639.

<sup>44</sup> On the joint dedication as a demonstration of mother-son *concordia* see WEINSTOCK (1971), p. 266. PURCELL (1986), p. 89 suggests that the connection of dedication and triumph allowed Livia to be implicitly recognized as "triumphator by proxy."

<sup>45</sup> CARETTONI *et al.* (1960), p. 69-70, plate 18; RODRIGUEZ ALMEIDA (1981), plates 7-9; PLATNER / ASHBY (1929), p. 423. On the placement of the *aedes* as the central rectangle in the marble plan, see COARELLI (1974), p. 206; JORDAN / HUELSEN (1907), p. 315; FLORY (1984), p. 330; contra PANELLA (1987), p. 612. On Eumachia's Forum of *Concordia* and *Pietas Augusta* in Pompeii and the similarity in design and decoration to the *Porticus Liuiæ* in Rome, see ZANKER (1988), p. 320; RICHARDSON (1978); GRIMALDI (2003).

dedication occurred on June 11<sup>th</sup>, a day marked by celebrations by and in honor of women: this is the same day as the *Matralia* and the festival of *Fortuna*.<sup>46</sup> Both cults honor marriage, motherhood, and the lives of women. The *Matralia* celebrates *concordia* among women and between generations. The *bonae matres* are called upon to worship the goddess *Mater Matuta*, and the women pray for their nieces and nephews, as well as their own children.<sup>47</sup> The festival of *Fortuna* centers on the temple to *Fortuna Virgo*, which was consecrated in the *Forum Boarium* by the king Servius Tullius along with the temple to *Mater Matuta*.<sup>48</sup> Livia's dedication adds a third reason for women to celebrate, since *Concordia* is the "presiding goddess of married life."<sup>49</sup> Given the festival context, Livia's connection to *Concordia* might be expanded to include other family members; her shrine thus symbolized the overall *concordia* of the imperial household.<sup>50</sup>

Despite Augustus' adoption of *Concordia* as a hallmark of his principate, the term *Concordia Augusta* does not appear until AD 10, when it is used to refer to Tiberius' renaming of the temple to *Concordia* in the Roman Forum. Tiberius, in fulfillment of a vow made in 7 BC, renovated and rededicated the temple in his own name and that of his deceased brother Drusus in January of AD 10 as the *Aedes Concordiae Augustae*.<sup>51</sup> This temple was restored and its décor and architecture remodeled to suit its new political context. As Kellum argues, the temple exemplified the theme of continuity and difference central to the Augustan era: the new sculptural and painting program reflected the harmony of the imperial family, of the state, and of the cosmos.<sup>52</sup>

In his *Fasti* (1.647-650), Ovid distinguishes between Livia's connection to *concordia* and Tiberius' celebration of the Augustan state:

<sup>46</sup> Ov., *Fast.* 6.473-636. Cf. FLORY (1984), p. 313ff.

<sup>47</sup> Ov., *Fast.* 6.559-562.

<sup>48</sup> On which, cf. FLORY (1984), p. 313-314.

<sup>49</sup> FLORY (1984), p. 314.

<sup>50</sup> FLORY (1984), p. 313-314 suggests that the *aedes Concordiae* was meant to signal that "the political unity of the state emanated from the domestic harmony of the imperial household." Cf. SEVERY (2003), p. 131-138 on Livia and *Concordia*, and p. 134 for the argument that the shrine helped Livia to "create a public status out of exemplary domesticity."

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Ov., *Fasti* 1.640, 643-648; DIO CASS. 55.8.2; SUET., *Tib.* 20 for the dedication on 16 January, AD 10 (although Suetonius gives AD 12).

<sup>52</sup> KELLUM (1990), p. 277-278. KELLUM (1990), p. 295-296 offers the following conclusion: "That message was of *pax deorum*, the very essence of *Concordia Augusta*, mirroring the balance struck between members of the imperial family, between social orders within the state, and ultimately reflecting the order of the cosmos as a whole. Just as the *Ara Pacis Augustae* had transformed the Field of Mars, so too the *aedes Concordiae Augustae* transformed not only a venerable republican site, but also the oldest home of the gods in Rome, the Capitoline, into a distinctively Augustan entity." Cf. LEVICK (1978), p. 224, who argues that Tiberius' dedication indicated a shift in meaning and "refers to the unity of the Empire under Augustus".

*inde triumphatae libasti munera gentis  
 templeque fecisti, quam colis ipse, deae.  
 hanc tua constituit genetrix et rebus et ara,  
 sola toro magni digna reperta Iouis.*

"Whence you made offerings out of the gifts of the conquered race and built a temple to the goddess whom you yourself worship. Your mother established this goddess through her actions and with an altar, she alone discovered as worthy of the bed of great Jove."

In the first couplet, Ovid refers to the temple of *Concordia* dedicated by Tiberius, which honored Augustan *Concordia* as a divine quality connected to state affairs and the freedom ensured by military success. In the second couplet, Livia, as *genetrix* of Tiberius, honors the *Concordia* who presides over marriage and family life.<sup>53</sup> Thus, Tiberius' temple sent a political message, indicating that the imperial family was responsible for *concordia*. The meaning of his monument is distinct from that of Livia's *aedes*. In Tacitus' *Annals*, Livia challenges this separation of meaning.

#### 4. Tacitus' Livia

As the wife of the first *princeps* and mother of the second, Livia had a singularly powerful potential to uphold and publicly display the *concordia* of the imperial *domus*. Livia, in her roles as wife, mother, stepmother, and Augusta, both balances and exposes the difficulties in balancing *concordia*. Past scholarship has argued that Tacitus' Livia exemplifies both positive and negative female stereotypes, from model *matrona*<sup>54</sup> to the manipulative mother, from evil stepmother<sup>55</sup> to supportive patroness.<sup>56</sup> *Concordia* provides a useful entry for an analysis of both positive and negative aspects of Livia. Tacitus demonstrates that Augustus' ideal *concordia* resulted in a harmony that was especially fragile and liable to artificial display. He offers alternate evaluations of Livia's monuments and counters the efficacy of her role as a model of *concordia*.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Scholars generally accept that Livia had no active public role in the restoration of this temple; however, there is some textual difficulty over the first word in line 649. While both variants have manuscript authority, most scholars support *hanc*, referring to *Concordia*, rather than *haec*, referring to the temple, and additional textual evidence names Tiberius as the sole dedicator, e.g. *CIL* I, p. 231, *Praen.*, on which see EHRENBERG / JONES (1955), p. 45; cf. PLIN., *NH* 37.4. See HERBERT-BROWN (1994), p. 165-166, n. 72 for the history of scholarship; FLORY (1984), p. 324. For the suggestion that Livia had an active role see RICHARDSON (1978), p. 271-272; SIMPSON (1991).

<sup>54</sup> E.g. PURCELL (1986).

<sup>55</sup> E.g. BARRETT (2001), p. 171.

<sup>56</sup> BARRETT (2002) presents both perspectives. See SANTORO L'HOIR (2006), p. 24-25, and STRUNK (2014), p. 140, on Livia and the rhetorical stereotype of the poisoning stepmother.

<sup>57</sup> See ROLLER (2018), p. 1-31 for a general model of Roman exemplarity.

This analysis emerges in four sections: he (1) denigrates Livia and her manipulation of the imperial succession in *Annals* 1.1-10, (2) exposes the failures of her maintenance of domestic *concordia* during the reign of Tiberius, (3) creates a new monument to her memory in her obituary, and (4) casts a shadow over her descendants through recording their less than successful imitations of Livia's public presentation of domestic *concordia*.

In the opening of his *Annals*, Tacitus suggests a number of possible criticisms of Livia's character and management of the imperial *domus* by foregrounding Livia's manipulation of the imperial succession. Dynastic *concordia* emerges as dependent upon Livia's actions, particularly in the period of transition between the first and second emperors, when civic and familial unrest was most likely to occur.<sup>58</sup> Livia's deceptive behavior and the violence with which she is associated align her with aspects of the reigns of both Augustus and Tiberius, and her impact during the transition from her husband's reign to that of her son had lasting consequences both for the *concordia* of the family and that of the state. Livia first appears in the *Annals* as a stepmother whose treachery may have caused the deaths of Agrippa Postumus, Gaius, and Lucius (*nouercae Liuiæ dolus*, *Ann.* 1.3.3). Livia's authoritative manner is criticized during an anonymous debate over Augustus' successor: *accedere matrem muliebri impotentia: seruiendum feminae duobusque insuper adulescentibus, qui rem publicam interim premant quandoque distrahant* (*Ann.* 1.4.5).<sup>59</sup> Livia is maligned after a comparison of Tiberius and Agrippa Postumus, and prior to the juxtaposition of her young grandsons, Drusus and Germanicus. She is faulted for her nature: she is politically powerless, but nevertheless refuses to be governed by younger family members. *Impotens*, commonly used as a negative characterization of women, indicates an absence of power that may erupt in a "violent assertion of self-will".<sup>60</sup> Used to describe Livia and Agrippina the Younger, *muliebris impotentia* indicates the intrusion of these imperial women

<sup>58</sup> See GINSBERG (2017), p. 2 on transitions in power as potentially disruptive to *concordia*; while Ginsberg focuses her study on Nero, a parallel may be drawn with Tiberius' accession. See GOWING (2010), p. 256 on *concordia* as a "cornerstone of Tiberian ideology" necessary to keep civil war in check, and note 23 for references to *concordia* and Tiberius. By contrast, KEITEL (1984) argues that Tacitus creates the narrative of Tiberius as a continuation of civil conflict through his removal of his rivals and the series of *maiestas* trials during his reign.

<sup>59</sup> "There was also his mother, with her womanly ungovernableness: they must be enslaved to a woman and moreover to two adolescent boys, who will burden the state for a while and at some time tear it in pieces."

<sup>60</sup> FURNEAUX (1896), vol. I, p. 582: "from denoting absence of self-control, the word in such places takes the more special sense of violent assertion of self-will." *Impotentia* occurs at *Ann.* 4.57.3 (of Livia); 12.57.2 (of Agrippina the Younger); 14.31.5 (of Roman veterans). Cf. LIV. 34.2.2, where Cato argues that the women arguing against the *Lex Oppia* are driven by *muliebris impotentia* and that they constitute a threat to male *libertas*.

into the male sphere of the state and to their appropriation of male *imperium*.<sup>61</sup> Livia acts on behalf of her own interests without care for, and often to the detriment of, the interests of those around her.<sup>62</sup> In this case, Livia has created the appearance of *concordia* through eliminating all rival imperial heirs and ensuring Tiberius' accession. Livia's appropriation of the power of men has the potential to harm both her household and the state. Her appropriation of male authority is demonstrated further when she barricades the palace until Tiberius arrives and the death of Augustus can be announced together with the accession of his successor.<sup>63</sup> There are even those who suspect that Livia had a role in the death of Augustus.<sup>64</sup>

Livia is indicted during a posthumous critique of Augustus' domestic affairs. The *princeps* is faulted for introducing Livia into his household under complicated circumstances, and Livia is blamed for her actions as both mother and stepmother (*Ann.* 1.10.5):

<sup>61</sup> SANTORO L'HOIR (2006), p. 111. See further SANTORO L'HOIR (2006), p. 111-157 on *muliebris impotentia* in Tacitus and others, and p. 113 for the various connotations, including, "a female lust for power – an appetite that has careened out of control; a transgression of boundaries; and a manifestation of *dominatio*, which imposes servitude on both house and state."

<sup>62</sup> Compare Seneca's observations on his mother's behavior in his *Consolatio ad Helviam*: he suggests that his mother weeps either because she has lost his protection or because she cannot bear the separation from her son. Seneca addresses the first reason by contrasting Helvia with other mothers, described as follows (*Cons. Helu.* 14.2): *uide-rint illae matres, quae potentiam liberorum muliebri impotentia exerceant, quae, quia feminis honores non licet gerere, per illos ambitiosae sunt, quae patrimonia filiorum et exhauriunt et captant, quae eloquentiam commodando aliis fatigant*, "Let other mothers look to that, who use the authority of their children with a female lust for power, who are ambitious through their sons because women are not allowed to hold office, who exhaust and seize their sons' inheritance, who wear them out by entrusting their eloquence to others."

<sup>63</sup> See MILNOR (2012), p. 460 on Livia's role in controlling access to information through fencing off the imperial *domus* at the time of Augustus' death (*acribus namque custodiis domum et uias saepserat Liuiā*, *Ann.* 1.5.4): Livia controls the space of the imperial household and has a privileged role in the accession of Tiberius. SANTORO L'HOIR (2006), p. 47-56 compares Livia's closure of the imperial household to that of Agrippina the Younger on the death of Claudius, and asserts a tragic paradigm reminiscent of Clytemnestra. CHARLESWORTH (1927) also compares the actions of Livia and Agrippina the Younger, finding a literary model in Livy's Tanaquil on the death of Tarquinius Priscus (*Liv.* 1.41); Charlesworth argues that Livia did not poison Augustus or cause his death, and that Tacitus' life under Domitian and condemnatory stories of Agrippina the Younger negatively influenced his presentation of Livia. MARTIN (2012) draws further parallels to argue that Tacitus' account of Tiberius' accession is derived from his similar narrative of Nero's accession. SPÄTH (2012), p. 442-443 argues that Livia and Agrippina the Younger, in securing the succession of their sons, go beyond the expectations of a mother's support and are thus interpreted as transgressive women whose actions exceed the expectations of standard femininity.

<sup>64</sup> *Ann.* 1.5.1: *et quidam scelus uxoris suspectabant*; cf. DIO CASS. 56.30.1-4.



*nec domesticis abstinebatur: abducta Neroni uxor et consulti per ludibrium pontifices, an concepto necdum edito partu rite nuberet; †que tedii et Vedii Pollionis luxus; postremo Liuia grauis in rem publicam mater, grauis domui Caesarum nouerca.*

“Nor was there a holding back from his domestic affairs: the wife of Nero was abducted and the priests consulted through farce as to whether she could marry with due religious rites after having conceived but before giving birth; ... and there was the extravagance of Vedius Pollio;<sup>65</sup> finally Livia, burdensome mother towards the state, burdensome stepmother towards the household of the Caesars.”

Tacitus’ three-fold criticism draws attention to the beginning of Augustus’ relationship with Livia, his association with the extravagant Vedius Pollio, and Livia’s place within the *domus Augusta*. Augustus is criticized for stealing the pregnant Livia from her husband Tiberius Claudius Nero in the manner of a tyrant.<sup>66</sup> Augustus (then Octavian) likely utilized his political authority to coerce Nero into divorcing Livia and giving her over in marriage. Augustus manipulates Nero, a political outcast, to gain a new wife.<sup>67</sup> Notably, during her marriage to Nero, Livia showed the type of exemplarity praised by Tacitus in his *Histories* (1.3.3): during a time of increased political disturbance, Livia followed her husband into exile with their young son Tiberius, and stood by him until they were allowed to return to Rome. The circumstances of her marriage to Augustus pose a challenge to Livia’s ability to be a positive model. Tacitus suggests that Augustus’ contemporaries remembered that the future emperor acted with an authority beyond that which was proper, and used politics to accomplish his domestic desires.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>65</sup> The translation follows the text of HEUBNER (1994). GOODYEAR (1981), p. 163 calls it “a desperate crux” that most likely replaces a missing name. Conjectures are listed by FURNEAUX (1896), vol. I, p. 197; GOODYEAR (1981), p. 164-165.

<sup>66</sup> FLORY (1988b), p. 348-349 connects *abducta* to the actions of a tyrant wife-stealer and notes similar episodes later in the *Annals* (e.g. *Ann.* 12.6.2); she argues for the origins of Tacitus’ version in the hostile propaganda of Antony. Cf. BARRETT (2002), p. 24.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. DIO CASS. 48.44.3. On Nero’s support of the match, see VELL. 2.79.2, 2.94.1; SUET., *Tib.* 4.3. FLORY (1988b), p. 345-346 argues for the haste of the marriage for political reasons, as Augustus was on the verge of war with Sextus Pompey (cf. SUET., *Aug.* 62). Cf. LEVICK (1976), p. 15: “Nero’s complaisance would be incredible, if it had not had a political motive.” See further SIRAGO (1983), p. 59-60.

<sup>68</sup> Augustus’ theft of Livia from her first husband is repeated in her obituary, where TAC., *Ann.* 5.1.2 also mentions her beauty: *Caesar cupidine formae aufert marito*. KRAUS (2009), p. 114 notes the evocation of Livy’s Lucretia (1.57.10): *cum forma tum spectata castitas incitat*, that arguably aligns Augustus’ marriage to Livia with Sextus Tarquinius’ desire for and subsequent violation of Lucretia. Cf. STRUNK (2014), p. 130 on *cupidine formae* as reminiscent of Tarquinius and also Appius Claudius, as well as Augustus’ desire for power (*cupidine dominandi*; *Ann.* 1.10.1). STRUNK (2014) argues for Augustus’ theft of Livia as an “anti-Lucretia story”: although Livia is abducted, her story diverges from the paradigm of Lucretia when Livia’s relatives fail to avenge her abduction, her abductor accrues further power rather than punishment, and the abducted

Secondly, Augustus is criticized for his friendship with Vedius Pollio, the extravagant equestrian who bequeathed his villa to Augustus upon his death. This became the site of the Portico of Livia, in which Livia dedicated her shrine to *Concordia*.<sup>69</sup> The criticism seems to focus on *luxus*, but the specifics continue to puzzle scholars on account of the textual crux.<sup>70</sup> Rockwell emends the phrase to involve Livia, and offers the possibility that Pollio gave the empress an extravagant gift.<sup>71</sup> Tacitus' reference offers a possible criticism of the opulence of both the former owner and of Livia, who displayed her wealth through her benefactions. The fact that Augustus' detractors make this reference suggests that the public image of the imperial family, as advertised by monumental structures, combined positive moral values with opulent displays that were open to criticism.

In their third criticism, Augustus' contemporaries characterize Livia as a *gravis mater* in relation to the *res publica*, and *gravis nouerca* in relation to the home of the Caesars. Tacitus asks his readers to regard Livia's roles as mother and stepmother as parallel. *Gravis* connotes an idea of severity towards all younger members of her household. However, she is oppressive in different ways. *Gravis mater* reminds readers that Livia was both pregnant (*gravis*) and already the mother of Augustus' eventual heir when Augustus married her.<sup>72</sup> As a mother, she acted on behalf of her sons Drusus and Tiberius and against the preference of the state. Augustus promoted both of her sons prematurely, and Livia's favoritism was instrumental in ensuring Tiberius' accession. Livia's position as *gravis nouerca* invites a similarly synchronic reading. At the time of Livia's marriage, the sons of Augustus' daughter Julia were already established as his potential heirs. Her co-existence in the imperial *domus* with Livia challenged the preservation of *concordia*. Augustus' arrangement of Julia's marriage to Tiberius further complicated rather than resolved the domestic tension.<sup>73</sup> Thus,

woman does not suffer, but rather plays a part in the political revolution that ensues from her abduction.

<sup>69</sup> OV., *Fast.* 6.639-640: *ubi Liuvia nunc est / porticus, immensae tecta fuere domus*. On Pollio and his palatial villa, see DIO CASS. 54.232-6, 55.8.2; PLIN., *NH* 9.39; SEN., *de clem.* 1.18.2.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. GOODYEAR (1972), p. 163ff. *ad* 1.10.5 on the various possibilities, of which the most common suggestion is to replace the phrase *que tedii* with a proper name; cf. KOESTERMANN (1966), vol. I, p. 103. On the critique, see SYME (1961), p. 29; FLORY (1988b), p. 348ff.

<sup>71</sup> ROCKWELL (1971), p. 110.

<sup>72</sup> SANTORO L'HOIR (2006), p. 54 mentions the meaning of *gravis* as pregnant and suggests that it serves as a "snide reminder" of Livia's condition when she married Augustus. Cf. STRUNK (2014), p. 129, who argues that *gravis* refers both to "Livia's pregnancy and her domineering personality." The term is repeated in her obituary and explicitly refers to her pregnancy (*gravidam*; *Ann.* 5.1.2).

<sup>73</sup> On Tiberius' forced marriage to his stepsister Julia, see VELL. 2.96.1; SUET., *Aug.* 63.1, *Tib.*, 7.2-3; TAC., *Ann.* 1.12.6, 53.2; DIO CASS. 54.31.1-2. TAC., *Ann.* 1.53.2 suggests Tiberius' departure for Rhodes was caused by his tense relationship with Julia.

both Augustus and Livia had a significant influence on *concordia*. Augustus increased domestic conflicts through his adoptions, arranged marriages, and his marriage to Livia. Livia promoted Tiberius' accession, and may have helped remove his rivals from the imperial *domus*.<sup>74</sup>

Although Tacitus' internal detractors separate political from domestic criticisms of Augustus, their characterization of Livia indicates that the domestic criticisms have everything to do with the state. After the accession of Tiberius, the power dynamics internal to the *domus Augusta* shift, and Livia's connection to *concordia* becomes increasingly problematic. In Augustus' will, Livia is named Augustus' co-heir, adopted into the Julian *gens*, and receives the honorific title *Augusta*: through this title, Augustus commemorates Livia as a moral model, worthy of honor as an imitator of his own *augustus* character.<sup>75</sup> Tacitus honors his will through calling Livia *Augusta*, *Iulia*, or *Iulia Augusta* throughout the remainder of his *Annals*.<sup>76</sup> However, Tiberius limits Livia's public image as a model *matrona*. As the senate votes honors for Tiberius and Livia, some suggest that Livia be called the "parent" or "mother" of the country, and even more suggest that the title, "son of Livia" be added to Tiberius' name.<sup>77</sup> Tiberius denies all the

<sup>74</sup> Bad family relationships become a source of strife for multiple other sets of imperial family members, including Livia and Tiberius, whose hatred of Germanicus (Livia's grandson and Tiberius' nephew and adoptive son) is worsened by Livia's stepmotherly grievances towards Germanicus' wife, Agrippina the Elder (TAC., *Ann.* 1.33.1-3). Agrippina the Younger repeats aspects of Livia's position as *gravis mater*, *gravis nouerca* in the imperial household by ensuring the promotion of her son Nero over her stepson, the emperor Claudius' son Britannicus. Among non-Romans, the family of Segestes, his daughter, and his son-in-law Arminius provides a parallel to Tiberius, Agrippina the Elder, and Germanicus; Segestes' hatred of his son-in-law is increased by the fact that Arminius seized his daughter, already betrothed, perhaps reminding readers of Augustus' seizure of Livia from her husband. See TAC., *Ann.* 1.55.3: *Segestes, quamquam consensu gentis in bellum tractus, discors manebat, auctis priuatim odiis, quod Arminius filiam eius alii pactam rapuerat: gener inuisus inimici soceri, quaeque apud concordēs uincula caritatis, incitamenta irarum apud infensos erant*, "Segestes, although dragged into war by the consensus of his people, remained in disagreement, his hatred increased by private concerns, since Arminius had seized his daughter, betrothed to another: the son-in-law was hated by a hostile father-in-law, ties which formed bonds of affection among agreeable men, incentives to anger among hostile men."

<sup>75</sup> TAC., *Ann.* 1.8.1; cf. SUET., *Aug.* 101; DIO CASS. 56.43.1, 56.32. As noted by ROLLER (2018), p. 7, monumental forms include texts, but numerous other media have similarly monumental functions, including honorific names.

<sup>76</sup> The one exception is *Ann.* 12.69.3, where Tacitus recalls Livia's funeral for Augustus; referring to her as *Augusta* or *Iulia* in this context would be anachronistic, and thus she is called "Livia."

<sup>77</sup> *Ann.* 1.14.1: *Multa patrum et in Augustam adulatio: alii parentem, alii matrem patriae appellandam, plerique ut nomini Caesaris adscriberetur 'Iuliae filius' censebant*, "The senators also showed great adulation towards Augusta: some were proposing that she should be called, 'parent of the country,' others, 'mother of the country,' more, that 'son of Julia' should be added to the name of Caesar."

titles, as well as an Altar to Adoption (*Ann.* 1.14.2). The title, *mater patriae*, would honor Livia as the complimentary pair to Augustus, *pater patriae*, while also recalling Cornelia, *mater Gracchorum*, the foremost model of Republican motherhood; as *mater patriae*, Livia would be recognized as the overarching *matrona* responsible for the moral uprightness of the state.<sup>78</sup> Tiberius rejects the monumental forms that would honor Livia as an exemplary mother. Nevertheless, Tacitus connects the two by referring to Livia as *mater*, confirming the authority her motherhood gave her to impact state affairs.<sup>79</sup>

Discrepancies between the public image and private reality of Livia's relationship with Tiberius emerge in the remainder of the Tiberian hexad. Through references to various monumental forms, Tacitus suggests that Livia's contemporaries noticed the mother-son discord. In book one, he notes that Tiberius revived the treason law to investigate written slander, recording the content of such words: *hunc quoque asperauere carmina incertis auctoribus uulgata in saeuitiam superbiamque eius et discordem cum matre animum* (*Ann.* 1.72.4).<sup>80</sup> The form of the criticism is significant: written libel, if it survived into Tacitus' lifetime, may be a source of contemporary views of the second emperor. The pasquinades offer a counter-display to the inscriptions and monuments dedicated to *Concordia*. The two written forms are simultaneously on public view and demonstrate a disparity between positive imperial ideology and contemporary public opinion. Tiberius is criticized for his malicious character and poor relationship with Livia. Livia is implicated for her poor relationship with her son, although, unlike Tiberius, her character is not subject to similar vitriol.

The friction between mother and son centers on a discrepancy between Livia's authority and Tiberius' belief in the same. Tacitus contrasts two moments in order to draw attention to this discord: Tiberius' visit to Livia during an illness in AD 22, and Livia's dedication of a statue. By juxtaposing two chronologically separate events, Tacitus asks his reader to interpret them together (*Ann.* 3.64.1-2):

*Sub idem tempus Iuliae Augustae uoletudo atrox necessitudinem principi fecit festinati in urbem reditus, sincera adhuc inter matrem filiumque concordia siue occultis odiis. Neque enim multo ante, cum haud procul theatro Marcelli effigiem diuo Augusto Iulia dicaret, Tiberi nomen suo postscripterat, idque ille credebatur ut inferius maiestate principis graui et dissimulata offensione abdisse.*

<sup>78</sup> See ROLLER (2018), p. 197-232 on Cornelia as an exemplary *matrona*, and her honorific name, *mater Gracchorum*.

<sup>79</sup> Livia is called *mater* when her letter assists her son in the persecution of king Archelaus of Cappadocia (*Ann.* 2.52.3), and when the two are both victims of libel (*Ann.* 2.50.1). Livia's role in state affairs is recognized in Asia's dedication of a temple to Tiberius, Livia, and the senate, that provided the model for another such temple to be proposed (*Ann.* 4.15.3; 4.55-56).

<sup>80</sup> "Verses published by anonymous authors had also annoyed this man, verses against his cruelty and haughtiness and his mind, discordant with his mother."

“At that same time, Julia Augusta’s alarming ill health created the necessity for the emperor of a hastened return into the city, whether there was still sincere *concordia* between mother and son or with hatreds hidden. And indeed not long before, when Julia was dedicating a statue to the divine Augustus not far from the theater of Marcellus, she had inscribed the name of Tiberius after her own, and it was supposed that he had hidden that slight on the majesty of the emperor with severe and disguised displeasure.”

The defining aspect of Tiberius’ relationship with his mother is *concordia*, whether sincere or not. Tacitus is unique in his application of a state of *concordia* to a mother-son relationship. *Sincera* indicates a real or genuine *concordia* in which action is matched by inner emotion; however, the second option, that of hidden hatred, is more likely.<sup>81</sup> The adverb *adhuc* indicates that *concordia* existed at some time, although its lasting quality is doubtful. Nevertheless, the public presentation of *concordia* is observable: Tiberius came home. After Livia’s recovery, thanksgivings are decreed, a festival staged, and a gift vowed by the equestrian order to *Fortuna Equestris* on behalf of Livia’s health.<sup>82</sup>

In the second anecdote, Tacitus records Livia’s dedication of a monument that Tiberius interprets as a slight on his *maiestas*: on the inscription of a statue of Augustus, Livia places her name before that of Tiberius. Her action is reasonable, as Livia is the dedicator. The statue is nominally an expression of *pietas*, but its inscription facilitates a subversive reading. Tacitus’ suggestion that such an opinion existed among Livia’s contemporaries (as indicated by *credebatur*) indicates that alternate readings of monumental forms were possible, even during Livia’s lifetime.

Public opinion is supported by the way in which the mother-son relationship plays out. When Tiberius leaves for Campania under the pretense of dedicating altars to the divine Augustus and the divine Julius, some of Tacitus’ sources suggest that Tiberius left due to the *impotentia* of his mother (*Ann.* 4.57.3):

*Traditur etiam matris impotentia extrusum, quam dominationis sociam aspernabatur neque depellere poterat, cum dominationem ipsam donum eius accepisset.*

“It is also reported that he was driven away by the unruliness of his mother, whom he refused as a partner in rule and was unable to expel, since he had received his rule as her gift.”

<sup>81</sup> See WHITEHEAD (1979) on the “loaded alternative” in Tacitus, in which the second option is more likely.

<sup>82</sup> For the festival, see *Ann.* 3.64.3-4; for the gift, see *Ann.* 3.71.1. In addition, coins were minted in AD 22 with the legend *Salus Augusta* beneath the portrait of a woman generally understood to be Livia; these, as well as coins with the image of a *carpentum* and the legend *SPQR Iuliae August(ae)* celebrated Livia’s recovery. On *Salus Augusta* see WOOD (1999), p. 82, image 34. See VAGI (2000), p. 407, no. 407 for the *carpentum sestertius*, and no. 408 for the *Salus Augusta dupondius*.

In Tacitus' narrative, Livia placed her goals for Tiberius above the interest of the state, only to have her own authority questioned by Tiberius. Tacitus' Livia regards the principate as a "gift" she gave to Tiberius. Livia's personal ambitions – to be regarded as Tiberius' "ally" in rule, as the Augusta and co-heir of Augustus – are interpreted as a challenge to the second *princeps*. Rather than reestablish *concordia*, the son detaches himself from his mother, the city, and the imperial *domus*.

Tacitus' obituary presents Livia's overall impact, while reflecting upon prior moments in his text. This obituary serves as Tacitus' final monument to Livia's memory. Tacitus opens by reviewing Livia's noble ancestry and biographical details centered on her married life (*Ann.* 5.1.1-2):

*Rubellio et Fufio consulibus, quorum utrique Geminus cognomentum erat, Iulia Augusta mortem obiit, aetate extrema, nobilitatis per Claudiam familiam et adoptione Liuiorum Iuliorumque clarissimae. primum ei matrimonium et liberi fuere cum Tiberio Nerone, qui bello Perusino profugus, pace inter Sex. Pompeium ac triumuiros pacta in urbem rediit. Exim Caesar cupidine formae aufert marito, incertum an inuitam, adeo properus, ut ne spatio quidem ad enitendum dato penatibus suis grauidam induxerit. Nullam posthac subolem edidit, sed sanguini Augusti per coniunctionem Agrippinae et Germanici adnexa communes pronepotes habuit.*

"When Rubellius and Fufius were consuls – Geminus was cognomen for each – Julia Augusta met her death, at an advanced old age, of the most distinguished nobility through her Claudian family and by her adoption into the Livii and Julii. Her first marriage and children were with Tiberius Nero, who, banished after the Perusine war, returned to the city after peace was made between Sextus Pompeius and the Triumvirs. Then Caesar, from a desire for her beauty, took her from her husband (uncertain whether she was unwilling), in such haste that without even granting time for giving birth he led her into his own home, pregnant. After this she produced no offspring, but through the connection to the bloodline of Augustus by the marriage of Agrippina and Germanicus she had great-grandchildren in common with him."

Several aspects of this text build upon the presentation of Livia elsewhere. As in the fictional posthumous critique of Augustus, Tacitus criticizes Octavian's marriage to Livia during a pregnancy, and the phrase *incertum an inuitam* casts doubt on Livia's willingness to leave one marriage for another.<sup>83</sup> Their failure to produce additional children raises insecurities about the model provided by this marriage, although they shared great-grandchildren. These children, those of Germanicus and Agrippina, should have been the bulwarks of the state;

<sup>83</sup> See BORG (2009) on the *incertum an* construction in Tacitus as capable of instilling fear or implying the culpability of the emperor, providing an impression of guilt without stating the author's judgment; see p. 39-40 on the obituary of Livia. Cf. WOODMAN (2017), p. 53 *ad loc.* on *incertum an* as introducing "cynicism" into the passage.

instead, Livia and Tiberius shared a hatred for this family. The two pairs formed unequal imperial rivals, mother and son against husband and wife.<sup>84</sup> Tacitus' reference to Germanicus' family shows the potential for a smooth line of imperial inheritance, while alluding to the discord that occurred. While Augustus is blameworthy for the circumstances of marriage, Livia failed to facilitate *concordia* or support a smooth line of succession in her actions towards their joint heirs.

After Livia's background, Tacitus describes Livia through a series of pithy phrases that form an image of an empress who kept a traditional home and altered her character to match a variety of different relationships and situations (*Ann.* 5.1.3):

*Sanctitate domus priscum ad morem, comis ultra quam antiquis feminis probatum, mater impotens, uxor facilis et cum artibus mariti, simulatione filii bene composita.*

"With respect to the purity of her household she conformed to ancient customs; her affability went further than was approved for women of old; an uncontrollable mother, a compliant wife, and a good match for the arts of her husband and the hypocrisy of her son."

Tacitus constructs Livia through three sets of contrasting phrases: he compares the *sanctitas* of her home to her *comis* character, differentiates between her positions as mother and wife through pointed adjectives, and compares her character to that of her husband and her son. He first describes Livia's nature by comparing her to women of earlier generations. Livia's household had a similar degree of moral purity, honor, and virtue as those of the past (as is implied by *sanctitas*), yet her affability, *comis*, was greater than was appropriate for a woman in the Republic.<sup>85</sup> *Comis* is the only adjective directly applied to Livia's character in her obituary. Its significance may be derived from literary comparisons and their relationship to others. For while *probitas* is a common virtue of wives, *comitas* is less regularly attested; however, Woodman notes that it appears in both the *Laudatio Turiae* (I.30 *domestica bona pudicitiae, opsequi, comitatis, facilitatis*), and in Pliny the Younger's praise of Fannia (*Ep.* 7.19.7 *quam iucunda, quam comis*).<sup>86</sup> The wife of the *Laudatio* and Fannia both supported their husbands in the face of adversity. Turia was integral to the recall of her husband from exile, while Fannia accompanied her husband

<sup>84</sup> *Ann.* 1.33.1. Livia acts like a wicked stepmother towards Agrippina, and Tiberius hates Germanicus as a rival to his own son Drusus. Their hatred becomes public after the death of Germanicus: neither attends his funeral, and Tacitus argues that they kept Germanicus' mother Antonia at home as well (*Ann.* 3.3.1-2).

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Octavia earns the attribution of *sanctitas* (*Ann.* 14.20.3). See PERKINS (2003), p. 419 on *sanctitate domus*, which "blends the meanings of religious protection and moral purity with *domus*, which here refers to Livia's domestic life."

<sup>86</sup> WOODMAN (2017), p. 55 *ad loc.* See TREGGIARI (1991), p. 241 on *comis* in Roman marriage.



Helvidius Priscus twice into exile, before being exiled herself. Livia likewise accompanied her husband Tiberius Claudius Nero into exile, proving her commitment to the marriage.

For Tacitus, *comis* / *comitas* is an admirable quality, as long as it is used correctly. *Comis* is a key component of a good general, as long as affability is not shown towards the undeserving. Tacitus establishes these boundaries in the *Agricola*, where his father-in-law is noticeably harsh in his reproofs. Tacitus (*Agr.* 22.4) explains: *ut erat comis bonis, ita aduersus malos iniucundus*, "Though he was affable to good men, nevertheless he was disagreeable to the bad." *Comis* also implies the absence of dissimulation: *Agricola* is never silent, and thus his men do not fear his silence, as he considered it better to show his anger than to hate: *honestius putabat offendere quam odisse* (*Agr.* 22.4). A general who is *comis* inspires willing obedience in his soldiers;<sup>87</sup> the best generals combine affability with hospitality and military glory.<sup>88</sup>

*Comitas* is the opposite of arrogance; in excess, *comitas* becomes leniency or extravagance and can result in the hatred and lack of respect of ones subjects.<sup>89</sup> Among the imperial family, *comitas* is the defining quality of Germanicus.<sup>90</sup> He is introduced as a civic-minded man with remarkably affability (*ciuile ingenium, mira comitas*), in contrast to Tiberius, who shows arrogance and dissimulation in both word and appearance (*sermone uultu, adrogantibus et obscuris*; *Ann.* 1.33.2).<sup>91</sup> In contrasting the two men, Balmaceda notes, "Courtesy

<sup>87</sup> E.g. Titus (*Hist.* 5.1.1). Cf. Otho, who administers the province of Lusitania *comiter* (*Hist.* 1.13.4) and addresses his entourage *comiter* (*Hist.* 2.48.1).

<sup>88</sup> E.g. Corbulo (*Ann.* 15.30.1). See BALMACEDA (2017), p. 221 on *uirtus* in the *Annals*, which is qualified under the principate with shades of *moderatio* and *comitas*: *comitas* leant a "touch of civility and politeness" in military matters, adding to the glory of the general and making him appear "more humane."

<sup>89</sup> E.g. Tacitus notes that Licinius Mucianus is a curious combination of positive and negative qualities, juxtaposing affability and arrogance (*comitate adrogantia ... mixtus*; *Hist.* 1.10.2). After the death of Germanicus, those grieving honor his *comitas* and note that he escaped enviousness and arrogance (*inuidiam et adrogantiam effugerat*; *Ann.* 2.72.2). For excessive *comitas* as laxity, compare the rather indolent (*segnior*) governor of Britain, Trebellius Maximus, who was inexperienced in military campaigns and "held the province with a certain affability in governing" (*comitate quadam curandi prouinciam tenuit*; *Agr.* 16.3). In excess, the combination of *comitas* and generosity implies excessive luxury or opulence; for example, in considering the threat to Vitellius posed by Junius Blaesus, Lucius Vitellius reports a luxurious dinner party hosted by Blaesus and warns the emperor that "[Blaesus] sought to display himself to the soldiers as affable and generous, with imperial family roots" (*qui se stirpe imperatoria comem ac magnificum militibus ostendet*; *Hist.* 3.38.3).

<sup>90</sup> See GOODYEAR (1972) at *Ann.* 1.33.1.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Germanicus demonstrates kindness towards his soldiers, hoping to soften the memory of a military disaster (*utque cladis memoriam etiam comitate leniret*; *Ann.* 1.71.3), and overhears his soldiers discussing his *comitas* (*Ann.* 2.13.1). Piso accuses him of excessive affability in paying court to the Athenians (*Ann.* 2.55.1); after his death, foreigners grieve for Germanicus, acknowledging his great affability towards allies and

brought a feeling of safety, security, and proximity; arrogance, on the contrary, inspired distance, uncertainty, and anxiety.”<sup>92</sup> After the death of Livia especially, uncertainty and anxiety surrounds Tiberius’ reign, as the emperor persecutes family members while leaving the issue of the imperial succession unresolved. Even on his deathbed, Tiberius is only able to reproduce the appearance of *comitas*, attempting to hide his obviously declining health (*Ann.* 6.50.1).<sup>93</sup>

*Comis* is also a quality of persuasive speech; however, in Tacitus, the positive and negative connotations are gender specific. When employed by L. Calpurnius Piso, Galba’s choice of successor, it is a positive attribute; as a marker of Poppaea Sabina’s *sermo*, *comis* becomes part of a series of manipulative qualities that allow her to ingratiate herself into the imperial household and control Nero.<sup>94</sup> This self-serving aspect of *comis* is also reflected in Agrippina, who aligns herself with Octavia after the death of Britannicus, receives military officers into her company warmly (*comiter*) and honors the nobly born *quasi quaereret ducem et partes* (*Ann.* 13.18.2), “as if seeking a leader and a party.” Agrippina manipulates the positive value of a good general, appropriates the masculine quality, and attempts to use it for personal gain. Thus, for these women, *comis* is distinctly pejorative; they are not as successful as Livia at disassembling.

Without exception, *comis* defines one’s character in relation to others. In her obituary, Livia is defined in relation to women of the Republic, to her husband, and to her son. During the Republic, Livia showed praiseworthy strength in accompanying her husband into exile, but from the time Octavian took her from her first husband, Livia was required to adapt her character to different circumstances. As the wife of Octavian / Augustus, Livia maintained the appearance of marital *concordia* and kept her household in order, but critics question the

clemency towards enemies (*Ann.* 2.72.2 *tanta illi comitas in socios, mansuetudo in hostes*). See PELLING (1993) on the ambiguity of Tacitus’ Germanicus and p. 85 on *comitas* in this portrayal. See further SANTORO L’HOIR (2006), p. 134-136 on the negative aspects of Germanicus’ affability.

<sup>92</sup> BALMACEDA (2017), p. 221.

<sup>93</sup> Elsewhere, Tiberius welcomes the son of Piso *comiter*, pretending that he had not prejudged Piso for the death of Germanicus (*Ann.* 3.8.1). Elsewhere, he refrains from gladiatorial games perhaps because he didn’t want to be compared with Augustus, whose attendance at such events demonstrated his affability (*Ann.* 1.76.4 *comiter*). On *comiter* as deceptive, compare Nero, who welcomes his mother warmly, alleviating her fears prior to their final dinner party, before he sends her away on the collapsible boat (*Ann.* 14.4.3 *blandimentum subleuauit metum: comiter excepta*).

<sup>94</sup> E.g. *Hist.* 1.19.1: *Pisonis comis oratio*. Despite her moral flaws, Poppaea Sabina has both *sermo comis* and inborn wit (*Ann.* 13.45.3 *sermo comis nec absurdum ingenium*). Seneca and Burrus have a concordant relationship and their skills complement each other: Seneca has eloquence and true *comitas*, matching the military expertise of Burrus (*Ann.* 13.2.2).

motivations behind her actions.<sup>95</sup> With Tiberius, *comis* becomes aligned with dissimulation, including the false appearance of *concordia*. A synchronic reading suggests that *comis* is a powerful dividing marker between the stages of Livia's life. It is one of the ways she matched the characters of the men with whom she was most closely associated, and anticipates Tacitus' division of her roles as *uxor* and *mater*.

Tacitus juxtaposes Livia's roles as wife and mother, asking readers to consider whether her identification as a model of *concordia* was limited to the reign of Augustus. The parallel expressions, *mater impotens* and *uxor facilis*, identify Livia's different functions in her household. While *mater impotens* alludes to earlier moments in the *Annals*,<sup>96</sup> *uxor facilis* builds on *comis*.<sup>97</sup> Livia's compliance may have supported the appearance of marital *concordia* and hidden the morally questionable acts of her husband. *Composita*, metaphorically conjuring up the positioning of opponents in the arena, labels Livia as a good match for both Augustus and Tiberius.<sup>98</sup> Tacitus also uses *composita* to connote dissimulation.<sup>99</sup> This type of pretense thus parallels *artes* and *simulatio*. Livia is able to adjust her character to the subtle diplomatic skills of her husband (*artes*) and to the hypocrisy of her son (*simulatio*), in order to present the impression of *concordia*. Thus, in her relationship with Augustus, she is affable and compliant, skills that promote the appearance of marital *concordia*. Her relationship with Tiberius is based on pretense; however, Livia exercises more individual authority during his reign.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>95</sup> E.g. SANTORO L'HOIR (2006), p. 134 argues that "the historian's seemingly benevolent words are both disingenuous and suspect." BARRETT (2003), p. 55 connects *comis* to other components of innuendo in Livia's characterization and argues that *comis*, an "apparent compliment," is actually a "two-edged blade" and "serves to raise doubts about her sincerity."

<sup>96</sup> *Ann.* 1.4.5, 4.57.3, discussed above. Compare further the reaction of the Romans after the death of Augustus and the swift murder of Agrippa Postumus, who compose their faces (*uultuque composito*) to appear appropriate for the death of one emperor and the rise of the next: *At Romae ruere in seruitium consules patres eques. quanto quis inlustrior, tanto magis falsi ac festinantes, uultuque composito, ne laeti excessu principis neu tristior<es> primordio, lacrimas gaudium, questus adulatione<m> miscebant*, "In Rome the consuls, senators, and equestrians rushed into servitude. The greater the nobility, the greater the deceit and haste, and with expressions composed not to seem too happy at the death of an emperor nor too sad for a beginning, they mixed tears and joy, mourning and flattery" (*Ann.* 1.7.1).

<sup>97</sup> Cf. PERKINS (2003), p. 419.

<sup>98</sup> PERKINS (2003), p. 420.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. HAYNES (2003), p. 24-25 on *Hist.* 3.37.1-2. WOODMAN (2017), p. 55 *ad loc.* suggests that *bene composita* refers to the *concordia* between both Livia and Augustus and Livia and Tiberius.

<sup>100</sup> For example, Livia was able to protect allies and friends from political persecution, but her patronage sometimes extended beyond the law. E.g. Livia saves the senator Haterius from being killed by Tiberius' guards (*Ann.* 1.13.4-6). She protects Urgulania,

The end of the obituary provides insight into the possibility for future *concordia* in the *domus Augusta*. Livia's son is away from Rome and does not return for his mother's modest funeral. He grants her few honors, and refuses the senate's offer of divinization (*Ann.* 5.2.1):

*At Tiberius, quod supremis in matrem officiis defuisset, nihil mutata amoenitate uitae, magnitudinem negotiorum per litteras excusauit, honoresque memoriae eius ab senatu large decretos quasi per modestiam imminuit, paucis admodum receptis et addito, ne caelestis religio decerneretur: sic ipsam maluisse.*

"But Tiberius, since he was absent from the last rites over his mother, with his indulgences in life not at all changed, excused himself through a letter on account of the volume of business matters, and diminished the honors abundantly decreed in her memory by the senate, as if through moderation, after admitting only a few, and after adding that celestial rite must not be decreed: she had preferred it thus."

Tiberius' absence signifies the collapse of *concordia*. His denial of divine honors completes his role in the manipulation of Livia's monumental forms: because of Tiberius, she is neither *parens patriae*, nor *mater patriae*, nor *Diua Augusta*.

Livia is eulogized by Gaius, the future emperor Caligula and one of the great-grandchildren shared by Livia and Augustus. Tacitus emphasizes the importance of public displays of concord and appropriate attention to the ancestors, especially for promoting an appearance of a clear dynastic succession. Caligula's presence reminds readers that these children hoped to reestablish a concordant household in the generation after Tiberius. Caligula's display of *pietas* indicates the possibility of a renewed *concordia*. However, Tacitus' presentation of Gaius here is acutely ironic, given Gaius' actions as emperor. Caligula's eulogy may remind readers of the nickname he bestowed on his great-grandmother, *Vlixes stolatus*.<sup>101</sup> Livia's Ulysses-type character allowed her to match Augustus and Tiberius in turn.<sup>102</sup> Tacitus recognizes her success at maintaining a position of authority and supporting her positive public image under two very different rulers. Livia's funeral concludes the public display of familial *concordia*, as the emperor begins to persecute Livia's associates and his own family members (*Ann.* 5.2.2-5.5.1). *Concordia* breaks down irreparably, putting the future of the state in jeopardy.

who is "above the law because of the friendship of Augusta," *quam supra leges amicitia Augustae extulerat* (*Ann.* 2.34.2; cf. 4.21.1), as well as Plancia, who is pardoned from her involvement in the death of Germanicus *ob preces Augustae* (*Ann.* 3.17.4). Livia also sustains Augustus' granddaughter Julia while in exile until her death (*Ann.* 4.71.4).

<sup>101</sup> KOESTERMANN (1965), vol. II, p. 221; Suet., *Cal.* 23.2.

<sup>102</sup> As observed by PUTNAM (1989), Gaius' nickname may connect Livia's character to that of Augustus, another trickster referred to as a *machinator doli* in Tacitus' discussion of the death of Hirtius in 43 BC (*Ann.* 1.10.2); the phrase seems to be derived from Vergil's description of Epeus, the contriver of the Trojan horse, as *doli fabricator* (*Aen.* 2.264).

Despite the limits Tiberius placed upon Livia's posthumous honors, Livia's descendants in the imperial household use her model as a guide for their own actions both during her lifetime and after her death. In his introduction to Livia in *Annals* 1.1-10, Tacitus attested Livia's strength of character, ungovernable nature, and the deceptive means by which she controlled the accession of Tiberius. In his obituary, he notes that Livia *comis* was able to match her character to the *artes* of Augustus. Two acts of imitation by other members of the imperial household serve to recall the memory of Livia's outwardly harmonious marriage to Augustus and to denigrate Livia's female descendants for their disingenuous marriages. First, in *Annals* book three, Livia's grandson Drusus cites the marriage between Livia and Augustus as a positive model for himself and his own wife Livilla, granddaughter of the Empress Livia. When two senators debate whether wives should be allowed to accompany their husbands when taking up provincial governorships (*Ann.* 3.33-34), Aulus Severus Caecina uses his own marital *concordia* as a model: he produced six children and maintained a harmonious marriage, even though his wife never accompanied him outside of Italy in his forty years of public service.<sup>103</sup> His personal domestic policy serves as a preface to his proposal for public affairs, and his argument that no women should be taken among allies or foreigners. Valerius Messala responds with a counter-argument, but Drusus ends the debate by praising Livia for accompanying Augustus on his journeys. Drusus' speech suggests one way in which Livia was interpreted as a positive model by her descendants (*Ann.* 3.34.6):<sup>104</sup>

*Addidit pauca Drusus de matrimonio suo; nam principibus adeunda saepius longinqua imperii. quotiens diuum Augustum in Occidentem atque Orientem meauisse comite Liuia! se quoque in Illyricum profectum et, si ita conducat, alias ad gentes iturum, haud semper aequo animo, si ab uxore carissima et tot communium liberorum parente diuelleretur.*

"Drusus added a few words about his own marriage: *principes* were often required to visit distant parts of the empire: how many times had Divine Augustus made expeditions to West and East with Livia as companion! He himself too had set off for Illyricum and, if it proved advantageous, would go to other nations, but always with a heavy heart if he were wrenched from his dearest wife, the parent of their numerous mutual children."<sup>105</sup>

<sup>103</sup> *Ann.* 3.33.1: *Inter quae Seuerus Caecina censuit, ne quem magistratum, cui prouincia obuennisset, uxor comitaretur, multum ante repetito concordem sibi coniugem et sex partus enixam*, "Meanwhile, Severus Caecina proposed that no wife accompany any magistrate allotted a province, first, by repeating often that his wife was of the same mind as him and had produced six children."

<sup>104</sup> See BARRETT (2002), p. 35, n. 16 on sources for Livia's accompaniment of Augustus on his journeys; cf. WOOD (1999), p. 80, n. 23 for sources of honorific inscriptions dedicated to Livia on such journeys in the provinces; cf. WINKES (1995), p. 52 for inscriptions from the cities on Augustus' travels in the East in 22-19 BC, a trip on which Livia seems to have accompanied him.

<sup>105</sup> Translation is that of WOODMAN (2004), p. 102.

Drusus cites the marriage between Augustus and Livia as an authoritative model. Livia, whom he characterizes as Augustus' travel companion (*comes*), follows Augustus to unnamed lands. Although he does not specifically mention *concordia*, Drusus suggests that Livia's companionship was important to the preservation of marital harmony.<sup>106</sup> Through supporting Augustus in this way, Livia shows herself to be both Augustus' life companion and the companion of his political success.

Tacitus' Drusus suggests that Livia's exemplary behavior is tied to her position as the wife of the emperor, and uses the marriage between Augustus and Livia as a model for his own marriage. Tacitus refers to Livilla as Livia throughout the *Annals*, prompting readers to interpret the failures of the younger woman in light of her model.<sup>107</sup> Indeed, Drusus' celebration of his *uxor carissima* becomes bitterly ironic, given Livilla's adulterous relationship with Sejanus and consequent involvement in Drusus' murder.<sup>108</sup> Given Drusus' misreading of his own domestic situation, his idealization of the marriage between Augustus and Livia appears to be similarly misguided. Tacitus' juxtaposition of the two women invites readers to reinterpret the object of Drusus' praise in light of his own marriage.

On a second occasion, at the end of book 12, Agrippina the Younger imitates Livia and prompts a critical view. After engineering the death of Claudius and the accession of Nero, she explicitly emulates her great grandmother in the arrangement of her husband's funeral: *caelestesque honores Claudio decernuntur et funeris solemne perinde ac diuo Augusto celebratur, aemulante Agrippina proaviae Liuae magnificentiam* (*Ann.* 12.69.3).<sup>109</sup> Agrippina copies the splendor of Augustus' funeral, presenting a magnificent image of *pietas*; however, her performance lacks emotional content. Agrippina's dissimulation is inimical to the *concordia* of the soul, as identified by Seneca (*Ep.* 74.30). By recording Agrippina's specious representation of *pietas*, Tacitus casts doubt on the sincerity of the model.<sup>110</sup> Thus, while both Drusus and Agrippina honor Livia's presentation of *concordia* and *pietas*, Tacitus uses their imitative acts to question Livia's motivations. Both Livilla and Agrippina are responsible for the deaths of their husbands; the mismatch between their inner characters and their outer displays of *concordia* recalls Tacitus' innuendo-laden introduction of Livia and her rumored role in the death of Augustus. The memory of Livia in these two episodes serves to specify her capacity to match her character to that of her

<sup>106</sup> Cf. SEVERY (2003), p. 136-137 on DIO CASS. 56.16, a senate meeting during which Augustus adduces himself and Livia as a model couple.

<sup>107</sup> SUET., *Tib.* 62.1, by contrast, uses "Livilla."

<sup>108</sup> TAC., *Ann.* 4.3.3-4; 6.2.1.

<sup>109</sup> "Divine honors were decreed for Claudius and his funeral was celebrated in the same manner as that of deified Augustus, since Agrippina rivaled the grandeur of her great-grandmother Livia."

<sup>110</sup> See GILLESPIE (2014) on Agrippina's model in the *Annals*.

husband and her facility at presenting a public image of domestic *concordia*, skills that her descendants failed to adopt.

### 5. Conclusion

In his *Annals*, Tacitus exposes the inherent imbalance in the combination of domestic and political harmony contained in the ideal of an Augustan *Concordia*. He explores how *concordia* in the imperial household became politics of the highest importance: a façade of domestic concord had to be maintained and advertised for the sake of political concord, making a sincere domestic ideal for this household impossible. Tacitus' representation of Livia's monumental forms prompts a reconsideration of Livia as a model of *concordia*. While Livia provided an *exemplum* in contemporary texts and monuments, Tacitus uncovers Livia's manipulative actions and uses internal evaluators to complicate a unified perspective. In her obituary, Tacitus clarifies the stages of Livia's life that impacted her presentation of *concordia*. The potential to misread the model is proven by her imitators within his text. Tacitus utilizes Livia to criticize the interdependence of the *concordia* of the imperial family and that of the state, before tracing the downfall of this family in the remainder of his *Annals*.

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## Marcial 7.46, *munera* πεζά

*Commendare tuum dum uis mihi carmine munus  
Maeonioque cupis doctius ore loqui,  
Excrucias multis pariter me teque diebus,  
Et tua de nostro, Prisce, Thalia tacet.  
Diuitibus poteris musas elegosque sonantes  
Mittere: pauperibus munera πεζά dato.* (Mart. 7.46)

Prisco tiene la intención de enviar a Marcial un obsequio acompañado por un poema erudito y minucioso, pero Marcial espera un regalo y no le interesa la elevada poesía de su interlocutor. Quizá no quiere sentirse obligado a responder de una manera tan trabajosa a Prisco, que se ha sometido a un considerable esfuerzo sólo para impresionarlo. El poeta le propone al destinatario del epigrama 7.46 que envíe *musas elegosque sonantes* a los ricos, y a los pobres, en cambio, *munera πεζά*<sup>1</sup>. Colmado de significado por el contraste con el hexámetro precedente, ese sintagma sugiere una posible definición de los epigramas. La enmienda de Palmer (πεζά) ha sido aceptada por los más importantes editores de Marcial desde Friedlaender<sup>2</sup>, aunque merece mayores precisiones, sobre todo pensando en una lectura programática, asunto muy poco estudiado en la bibliografía especializada<sup>3</sup>.

Galán Vioque enfatiza la importancia de *pexa* (segunda familia de manuscritos) y lee *munera πεζά* como “a play of words on the Latin sense of *pexus*, with omission of *toga*, i.e., *toga nova* ... and the meaning of the equivalent Greek technical term, i.e., ‘in prose’ ... in contrast with *musas elegosque*”. Según Galán Vioque, a Marcial no le interesan los poemas de Prisco, lo único que espera es el regalo, y debemos entender *munera πεζά* como “a gift of pure lamb’s

<sup>1</sup> FRIEDLAENDER (1886), KER (1919), IZAAC (1930), PUELMA PIWONKA (1995), p. 438, n. 18, ESTEFANÍA ÁLVAREZ (1996<sup>2</sup>), HOLZBERG (2008), CANOBBIO (2011), p. 65 leyeron ‘regalos prosaicos’; SHACKLETON BAILEY (1993) y SCÀNDOLA / MERLI (2000<sup>2</sup>) optaron por ‘regalos en prosa’.

<sup>2</sup> PALMER (1882), p. 39-40. Cf. LINDSAY (1903), p. 17: “In VII xlvi, 6 the puzzling word πεζά has led to error in all three archetypes, but fortunately not the same error: *pisce* A<sup>a</sup>, *pexa* B<sup>a</sup>, *plena* C<sup>a</sup>”; DUFF (1903), p. 221: “Palmer’s brilliant πεζά (vii 46,6)”.

<sup>3</sup> PUELMA PIWONKA (1995) es uno de los pocos estudios que menciona el valor programático del epigrama 7.46. Puelma Piwonka traza una línea desde πεζά hacia el fr. 112.9 de Calímaco (Μουσέων πεζόν ... νομόν) y hacia la *musa pedestris* de las *Sátiras* de Horacio (S. 2.6.17), y señala que el epigrama 10.4 de Marcial nos permite pensar que su autor conocía las posibles alusiones poéticas del adjetivo πεζός (p. 438, n. 18).

wool”<sup>4</sup>. El comentario del filólogo español remite a 7.36, pero no encontramos allí una alusión a la *toga*. El enunciador del epigrama 7.36 se presenta como un *agricola*, de modo que también podríamos imaginar el pedido de una *lacerna*, regalo más adecuado para un labrador; la *toga* no era muy apreciada por los agricultores, les resultaba costosa e incómoda<sup>5</sup>. Galán Vioque añade un último argumento que, sumado a los anteriores, parece desestimar la enmienda de Palmer: “The use of foreign words in epigram is not habitual”. En verdad, la aparición de palabras griegas en los epigramas de Marcial no es algo excepcional, cf. *Sp.* 21, 1.27, 1.45, 2.43, 4.9, 5.38, 5.51, 5.78, 6.6, 7.57, 9.11, 10.68, 14.187, 14.201, 14.214.

Friedlaender propuso leer πεζῶ “vielleicht zugleich mit der Nebenbedeutung ψιλῶ”<sup>6</sup>. De acuerdo con esa lectura, *munera* πεζῶ significa “regalos sin acompañamiento”. Sin embargo, para Izaac, la equivalencia propuesta por Friedlaender entre πεζῶ y ψιλῶ “est fondée sur un vers de Sophocle (frag. 15) où le sens de πεζός est bien douteux”<sup>7</sup>. Por otra parte, es difícil separar ‘poema’ y ‘regalo’, palabras muy cercanas en la obra de Marcial<sup>8</sup>. No hay que olvidar que el poeta

<sup>4</sup> GALÁN VIOQUE (2002), p. 289-291, part. 291. Salvo indicación contraria, esa es la cita a la que nos referimos cuando mencionamos al filólogo español. CANOBBIO (2011), p. 65, n. 21 entiende que la “*toga*” que lee Galán Vioque no queda explícita en el epigrama en cuestión: “Si tratta di una lettura certo sottile e direi anche non necessaria, dato che l’epigramma ha già la sua *pointe*, che consiste nell’originale equiparazione suggerita dal sopra citato distico finale tra la differenza esistente tra *pauperes* e *divites* e quella che separa la prosa dalla poesia”. No obstante la confusa argumentación del filólogo español, la lectura *pexa* cuenta con argumentos atendibles. En MART. 2.44 tenemos un ejemplo de *pexa* como adjetivo para *toga* (WILLIAMS [2004], p. 163: “a brand-new toga”); cf. MART. 2.58. A su vez, el mismo término califica al sustantivo *tunica* en HOR., *Ep.* 1.1.95-96, donde MAYER (1994), p. 107 lee: “brushed”. WILD (1967) entiende que, en el contexto de la Britania Romana, el sintagma *tunica pexa* puede ser traducido como: “soft-finished tunic”. De manera que *pexa* podría aludir no sólo a una *toga*, sino también a una túnica o quizá a otro género de obsequio, si se tiene en cuenta el griego πεζός y el sentido obsceno derivado del uso metafórico del verbo πεκτεῖν; cf. AR., *Nu.* 1356 con TAILLARDAT (1965), p. 343-344. Como adjetivo de *munera*, la palabra *pexa* puede tener distintos significados (cf. *ThLL* s.u. *pecto*) y su valoración en el epigrama 7.46 no queda del todo clara. De hecho en Marcial, precisamente en 7.58, *pexa* se refiere al cuidadoso tratamiento de la cabellera o de la barba (cf. TER., *Hau.* 290), mientras que en QUINT., *Inst.* 1.5.14, *pexus* alude a un basto doctor: *pexus pinguisque doctor*. Nosotros pensamos que, si se revisan las explicaciones de PALMER (1882) y el fr. 601 CAF, la lectura πεζῶ resulta más significativa en términos programáticos.

<sup>5</sup> Sobre la incomodidad de la *toga*: TERT., *De pallio* 5.1-3. Según JUV. 3.171-172, en la mayor parte de Italia nadie usaba toga, salvo los muertos. Cf. HAMPSON BREWSTER (1918), p. 131-143, part. 140; WILSON (1924), p. 90; CORDIER (2005), p. 87 y n. 21.

<sup>6</sup> FRIEDLAENDER (1886), p. 497.

<sup>7</sup> IZAAC (1930), p. 268 (p. 223, n. 9). Sobre el fragmento 15 (16) de Sófocles, cf. CAMPBELL (1881), p. 486; PEARSON (1917), p. 14; RADT (1999), p. 122.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. MART. 7.3; 7.17; 7.42; 7.80; 7.97. También 13.3.5-6: *Haec licet hospitibus pro munere disticha mittas, / Si tibi tam rarus, quam mihi, nummus erit*. Cf. STROUP (2006), en particular p. 305-306. El poema 14a de Catulo es un importante antecedente.



ofrece su séptimo libro como *munus paruum* (7.17). En el epigrama 7.46, la docta poesía de Prisco es parte del obsequio<sup>9</sup>. La proximidad entre *munera* y *carmina* – explícita en 7.80 – refuerza la lectura programática del contraste entre *munera πεζά* y *musas elegosque sonantes*<sup>10</sup>.

El significado primario de πεζός se refiere al hecho de caminar o de tener los pies en el suelo<sup>11</sup>. La utilización de este adjetivo para referirse al discurso en prosa es tardío, aunque supone una jerarquía que deriva del sentido original. Estrabón (1.2.6.31-33) explica que, así como la comedia representa un descenso del lenguaje poético con respecto a la tragedia, las palabras en prosa se definen con el adjetivo πεζός porque descendieron de las alturas desde un carro a la tierra<sup>12</sup>. Cuando Horacio se refiere a la conversación vulgar, a la comedia o a las sátiras, reproduce una jerarquía cercana a la de Estrabón (*Ars* 95-98, 227-230; *S.* 2.6.16-17; *Ep.* 2.1.250-251). Los *humiles sermones, pedestres* y *repentes per humum* están en una posición evidentemente inferior con respecto a la poesía de Píndaro, que se eleva a la altura de las nubes (*Carm.* 4.2.25-27)<sup>13</sup>. También es posible que el fr. 112.9 de los *Aitia* de Calímaco (Μουσέων πεζόν ... νομόν) haya influido en la *musa pedestris* de las *Sátiras* de Horacio<sup>14</sup>. Quintiliano acude al mismo término para distinguir las cualidades de los discursos filosóficos, y subraya que la homérica elocuencia de Platón se encuentra muy por encima del estilo ‘pedestre’ (*Inst.* 10.1.81). En el terreno de la poesía, tanto el griego πεζός como su traducción latina expresan un juicio generalmente negativo sobre la dignidad de los temas, del lenguaje o sobre la pertinencia de

<sup>9</sup> SCHNEIDEWIN (1881), *Praef.*, p. viii indicó el vínculo entre 7.46 y 7.42. Cf. GALÁN VIOQUE (2002), p. 272.

<sup>10</sup> No obstante el contraste entre *munera πεζά* y *musas elegosque sonantes*, los verbos *mittere* y *dato* no se encuentran necesariamente en oposición; cf. MART. 2.39: *uis dare quae meruit munera? mitte togam*. Sobre el uso de *dato* en 7.46.6, podemos confrontar 7.25.7, donde *dato* se refiere al obsequio de higos y manzanas enmeladas, y también a poemas jocosos. Tampoco en el poema 14a de Catulo, que podemos leer como antecedente de MART. 7.46, se oponen *misit* (v. 7) y *dat* (v. 9); de hecho ambos verbos se refieren al mismo *munus*, una execrable antología de poetas con mal pie.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. HOM., *Il.* 5.13, pasaje en el que Diomedes enfrenta a pie (πεζός) a dos guerreros troyanos que lo atacan desde sus carros.

<sup>12</sup> El énfasis en la altura desde la que caen las palabras (ἀπὸ ὕψους) sobreentiende un carro ‘alado’. Cf. PIND., *I.* 2.3; *Pae.* 7b.13 = fr. 52h (edición de SNELL / MAEHLER).

<sup>13</sup> PIND., *N.* 3.82 y *schol.* alude a otros poetas como cuervos que habitan en lo bajo (ταπεινός). BRINK (1982), p. 179 indica la cercanía entre *sermo pedestris* en Horacio y ταπεινός λόγος en Aristóteles. Como Píndaro, el propio Horacio (*Carm.* 1.1.35-36) se eleva hasta alcanzar los astros impulsado por su lírica y la favorable estimación de Mecenas; pasaje de Horacio que podemos confrontar con VERG., *Ecl.* 9.26-29 y PROP. 3.17.39-40: *haec ego non humili referam memoranda coturno, / qualis Pindarico spiritus ore tonat*.

<sup>14</sup> HERZOG (1911), p. 29-30; PFEIFFER (1965), p. 125; CAMERON (1995), p. 144; HARDER (2012), p. 866-870. Cf. MUECKE (1997), p. 198: “*Pedester* ... refers to the prosaic, down to earth style of satire and comedy”.

algunos ritmos métricos<sup>15</sup>. En este sentido, *πεζός* y *pedester* suponen ‘inferioridad’, ‘vulgaridad’ o ‘bajeza’, y están relacionados con adjetivos como *χαμαιπετής* y *humilis*<sup>16</sup>.

Posiblemente en el teatro cómico de la Antigüedad se pueda encontrar una alternativa a la distinción entre poesía ‘elevada’ y poesía ‘con los pies en el suelo’. Aristófanes muestra el reverso de la jerarquía que ubica a la tragedia y a la lírica por encima de otros géneros. La recusación cómica a los poetas etéreos (*Ra.* 892-894) o a aquellos que vuelan con sus versos hacia nebulosas alturas (*Au.* 1372-1409) visibiliza el programa de la comedia<sup>17</sup>.

Palmer propuso una traducción para el último dístico del epigrama 7.46: “you may send high-flown poems to the rich: to the poor send plain present without poetry”, y anotó para *πεζά*: “prosaic, plain, unromantic”. Esas indicaciones han sido escasamente citadas en la bibliografía a pesar de la importancia que tienen para comprender los intereses poéticos de Prisco y los de Marcial. En una publicación posterior, el propio Palmer escribió que el sentido de *πεζά* está relacionado con el adjetivo *pedester* en Horacio<sup>18</sup>. En términos programáticos y contrastada con *musas elegosque sonantes*, la expresión *munera πεζά* podría remitir a géneros considerados ‘poco poéticos’ como la comedia o la sátira<sup>19</sup>. Tratándose de Marcial, ese contraste puede aportar significados sobre los epigramas<sup>20</sup>.

Por sus temas y por su lenguaje, la comedia, la sátira y los epigramas de Marcial han bajado del carro alado de las musas. Pero no debe juzgarse este

<sup>15</sup> TERENT. MAUR. 2232-2242. Se conservan escolios a Homero en los que se desestiman algunos hexámetros “demasiado prosaicos” (*πεζότεροι*) de la *Iliada*: 2.252; 3.432; 9.688. Cf. CAMERON (1995), p. 144.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. PIND., *O.* 9.12-18. En LUC., *Hist. Conscr.* 16, se lee *πεζόν και χαμαιπετές*, términos referidos a unos textos de mala calidad (sin pulimentos literarios); también *Hist. Conscr.* 8, 21: *πεζή τις ποιητική*. Como equivalente de *πεζή λέξις*, Hesiquio anotó *κοινή λέξις* (edición de SCHMIDT). Cf. CIC., *Orat.* 196-197: *iambus enim frequentissimus est in iis quae demisso atque humili sermone dicuntur*; *Fam.* 9.21: *plebeius sermo*; HOR., *Carm.* 3.25.17: *nil paruum aut humili modo*; QUINT., *Inst.* 1.1.34-35: *uocabulis uulgaribus et forte occurrentibus*.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. AR., *Ach.* 398-400, 410-411 (*schol.* 399; 410), escena de *Acarnienses* en la que se cuestiona a un Eurípides que escribe tragedias con los pies en el aire. TAILLARDAT (1965), p. 284 entiende que la estética noble y suntuaria se opone a la “simplicité roturière” que expresa el adjetivo *πεζός* referido al lenguaje. Cf. PUELMA PIWONKA (1949), p. 327, n. 4.

<sup>18</sup> PALMER (1885), p. 343.

<sup>19</sup> PUELMA PIWONKA (1949), p. 334 señaló una distinción para la poesía de Calímaco entre una *λίγεια Μοῦσα* (deidad del hexámetro y la elegía) y una *πεζή Μοῦσα* (inspiradora de los yambos y del lenguaje coloquial).

<sup>20</sup> Sobre la vecindad entre los epigramas de Marcial, la comedia antigua y la sátira: CITRONI (1993), p. 311-341. Cf. DIOM., *Ars: satira dicitur carmen apud Romanos nunc quidem maledicum et ad carpenda hominum uitia archaeae comoediae caractere conpositum*, KEIL (1857), p. 485. Sobre el orden de las formas poéticas cf. TAC., *Dial.* 10.4. Es posible que en el epigrama 24 de Calímaco (= *AP.* 9.336) *πεζός* pueda tener un sentido programático referido al género.

‘descenso’ únicamente desde el orden que define Estrabón. El fr. 601 de los CAF (παῦσαι μελωδοῦς, ἀλλὰ πεζῇ μοι φράσον)<sup>21</sup> es relevante para comprender la enmienda de Palmer en Mart. 7.46<sup>22</sup>, no sólo por la aparición de πεζῇ allí, sino por su significado en esa línea, especialmente si lo comparamos con Aristófanes, *Au.* 1382 (Παῦσαι μελωδῶν, ἀλλ’ ὅ τι λέγεις εἰπέ μοι en el que μελωδῶν) se refiere a los circunloquios líricos de Cinesias. También son importantes unas líneas de Luciano en las que se le pide a Menipo que descienda de las frases de la tragedia y que hable simplemente y en yambos (*Nec.* 1): Παῦσαι, μακάριε, τραγωδῶν καὶ λέγε οὕτωςί πως ἀπλῶς καταβάς ἀπὸ τῶν ἱαμβείων<sup>23</sup>.

El último dístico de Mart. 7.46 responde a las elevadas pretensiones poéticas de Prisco proponiendo lo contrario. No se trata de que Prisco no escriba, sino de que abandone la sofisticada poesía que lo ocupa en favor de algo menos complicado (cf. 9.89)<sup>24</sup>. ‘Prisco’ puede referirse a un personaje de ficción o a un contemporáneo de Marcial, quizá a su amigo Terencio Prisco<sup>25</sup>. En cualquier caso, el significado del nombre (‘arcaico’, ‘anticuado’) presupone sus ideales estéticos<sup>26</sup>. Es posible que el término griego πεζά esté asociado al interés de Marcial por las costumbres de los romanos (cf. 8.3; 10.4)<sup>27</sup> y a la elección de un lenguaje prosaico que incluye palabras vulgares o habituales en el uso cotidiano del latín<sup>28</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> Cf. KOCK (1888), p. 516.

<sup>22</sup> PALMER (1885), p. 343 citó la expresión πεζῇ μοι φράσον para sugerir el sentido del epigrama 7.46 de Marcial.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. APUL., *Met.* 1.8; PETR. 90.3-4. Podemos añadir a nuestra lectura los fragmentos cómicos de Estrabón, en los que se representa el fastidio que provoca un cocinero erudito a un personaje del campo, part. STRATO 25: ἀγροικότερός εἰμ’, ὥσθ’ ἀπλῶς μοι διαλέγου.

<sup>24</sup> Es cierto que los poemas ‘prosaicos’ no mejoran en nada la situación financiera del enunciador de 7.46; sin embargo, un texto menos elevado evitaría la penosa espera que supone la elaboración del doctísimo poema de Prisco. Por otra parte, Marcial prefiere huir de una cena exquisita, si el compromiso de la comida lo obliga a soportar los versos mitológicos del dueño de casa (3.45). A su vez, como anfitrión, el poeta está dispuesto a eximir a sus convidados de la obligación de atender la lectura de gruesos volúmenes (5.78.25). Cf. MART. 11.52.16-18; 12.48.

<sup>25</sup> FRIEDLAENDER (1886), p. 497; IMMISCH (1911), p. 501; SULLIVAN (1991), p. 53, n. 65; PUELMA PIWONKA (1995), p. 438, n. 18; HOWELL (1998), p. 175; GALÁN VIOQUE (2002), p. 289; VALLAT (2008), en particular p. 63-64, 116; HENRIKSÉN (2012), p. 314-315; NEGER (2012), p. 276; MINDT (2013), p. 210.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. JOEPGEN (1967); GIEGENGACK (1969); PAVANELLO (1994); GREWING (1998), p. 340-341; SCHNEIDER (2001), en particular p. 711-712; VALLAT (2006).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. PUELMA PIWONKA (1995), p. 438, n. 18.

<sup>28</sup> Marcial justifica el registro coloquial de los epigramas en los prólogos de los libros 1 y 2. Cf. WATSON (2002).

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# Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus, das Erbe des Scipio Aemilianus und die numidische Thronfolge. Die Vorgeschichte des Jugurthinischen Krieges\*

## 1. Einleitung

Der Jugurthinische Krieg hat zweifellos seine Ursachen im numidischen Thronfolgekrieg, dem ein Streit über die Nachfolge Micipsas zwischen seinen Erben Jugurtha, Adherbal und Hiempsal vorausgegangen war, sowie in der römischen Militärintervention in diesen innernumidischen Konflikt ab 111 v.Chr. Numidien war bekanntlich seit dem 2. Punischen Krieg ein von Rom machtpolitisch abhängiges Königreich, dessen Herrscherhaus wiederum zu den „foreign *clientelae*“ der Cornelii Scipiones zählte.<sup>1</sup> Diese gewissermaßen doppelte Klientelbeziehung (sowohl zum *populus Romanus* als auch zur *domus Africana*) hatte P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus d. Ä. mit dem Numiderkönig Massinissa begründet.<sup>2</sup> Der römische Einfluss auf Numidien, besonders auf seine Herrscherdynastie trat

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<sup>1</sup> Dazu BADIAN (1958), S. 125, 164; TIMPE (1962), S. 336-337, 348-349, 353; CIMMA (1976), S. 46-52, 245-247; RITTER (1987), S. 20-24, 35-60, 83-85; LÖFFEL (2014), S. 64-72. BURTON (2011), S. 3-6 weist dagegen Badians Konzeption der „foreign *clientelae*“ zurück, lehnt den Begriff ‚Klientelkönigreich‘ (vgl. S. 5: „client state“ oder „client kingdom“) als „fixture of modern scholarship“ ab und führt seinerseits das Konzept der „international *amicitia*“ ein. Numidien war vor dem Bündnis mit Rom machtpolitisch offenbar von Karthago abhängig. Heiratsallianzen bestanden vor allem mit den Barkiden, was sich z.B. aus LIV. XXIX, 29, 11-12 ergibt. Dazu auch HOYOS (2003), S. 25-26, 52, 153, 172, 189, 223, 226. FLOR. I, 36, 3 äußert sich dazu unmissverständlich: *quam senatum populumque Romanum, quorum in fide et clientela regnum erat.*

<sup>2</sup> SALL., *Iug.* 5, 4: *Masinissa rex Numidarum in amicitiam receptus a P. Scipione; 5,5: igitur amicitia Masinissae bona atque honesta nobis permansit.* Zur Entwicklung des römischen Verhältnisses zu Massinissa siehe CIMMA (1976), S. 46-52; RITTER (1987), S. 43-56; BURTON (2011), S. 108-114. Zu Massinissa siehe WALSH (1965), S. 151, 155-156, 158; STORM (2001). BADIAN (1958), S. 125 bezeichnet Massinissa sogar als „the creature of Rome, and indeed of one Roman“, womit er den älteren Scipio Africanus meint. Ihm folgt TIMPE (1962), S. 337: „mehr als sonst ein befreundeter König dieser Zeit war Massinissa das Geschöpf Roms.“ Diesem Urteil widerspricht STORM (2001), S. 206. Anscheinend folgten die Scipionen den karthagischen Barkiden als außenpolitische Schutzherrn des numidischen Königshauses, dazu HOYOS (2003), S. 25-26, 52, 153, 172, 189, 223, 226; WALSH (1965), S. 150. Eine andere Interpretation der zwischen

148 v.Chr. unübersehbar zutage, als der greise Massinissa verstarb und der damalige *tribunus militum* Scipio Aemilianus dessen Nachlass und Rechtsnachfolge regelte.<sup>3</sup> Im Gegensatz dazu gestaltete sich Micipsas Nachlassregelung wesentlich komplizierter und mündete rasch in einen Thronfolgekrieg zwischen Iugurtha und seinem leiblichen Vetter Adherbal. Entgegen Sallusts Suggestionen ergriff der Senat in diesem Konflikt eben nicht einseitig für Iugurtha Partei, sondern offenbarte in dieser außenpolitischen Frage vielmehr Unschlüssigkeit und internen Dissens.<sup>4</sup> Statt eines klaren Schiedsspruches für die numidischen Angelegenheiten konnte sich der Senat nur auf wenig erfolgsversprechende Kompromisslösungen einigen.<sup>5</sup> Offenbar waren die politisch maßgeblichen und einflussreichen Konsulare im Senat in der numidischen Frage untereinander nicht konsensfähig.<sup>6</sup> Gewiss verfügten sowohl Adherbal als auch Iugurtha über Fürsprecher im Senat, doch anscheinend wusste keiner der beiden einen Senator von herausragendem politischem Gewicht auf seiner Seite.<sup>7</sup> Doch gab es ab 118

Massinissa und Scipio Africanus bestehenden Beziehung schlägt BURTON (2011), S. 109-111 vor, der darin eine „interpersonal and international *amicitia*“ sieht.

<sup>3</sup> APP., *Lib.* 105-106 (497-502); LIV., *Per. L.* 5-10; ZON. IX, 27. Zur Beurteilung des Sachverhalts in der Forschung siehe BILZ (1935), S. 32-33; BADIAN (1958), S. 137-138; SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 100-104; RITTER (1987), S. 80-85; STORM (2001), S. 87-91; LÖFFL (2014), S. 84-90.

<sup>4</sup> Dazu grundlegend PARKER (2004). Ihm folgend SCHIETINGER (2016), S. 589-591. Auch LÖFFL (2014), S. 93-99, 115, 171 sieht Iugurtha nicht einseitig durch den Senat gegenüber Adherbal bevorzugt.

<sup>5</sup> Zur Stimmungslage im Senat siehe SALL., *Iug.* 15, 2-5. Zur Senatspolitik im numidischen Thronfolgekrieg siehe TIMPE (1962), S. 348; ILEVARE (1977), S. 53; HACKL (1982), S. 125-136; PARKER (2004), S. 411-412; LÖFFL (2014), S. 111-127; grundlegend für LÖFFL (2014), S. 139-167, 173-179 ist jedoch die außenpolitische Einflussnahme römischer *equites*, *negotiatores* und *publicani*.

<sup>6</sup> Zum Einfluss der Konsulare bei der Entscheidungsfindung im Senat siehe TIMMER (2009); MEIER (1984).

<sup>7</sup> Laut SALL., *Iug.* 13, 5-8 wird Iugurtha von seinen *ueteres amici*, die er mittels Bestechungsgeschenken aktiviert hat, unterstützt. Bei diesen handelt es sich offenbar um seine vor Numantia gewonnenen Freunde unter seinen römischen Offizierskameraden (*Iug.* 7, 7-8, 1), über die WALTER (2006), S. 12 richtigerweise konstatiert: „allesamt junge Aristokraten, von denen viele zwanzig Jahre später im Senat saßen.“ Folglich wusste Iugurtha bei seinem Streit mit Adherbal eine *magna pars senatus gratia deprauata* (*Iug.* 15, 2) auf seiner Seite, während die wenigen (angeblich) unbestechlichen, dem Gemeinwohl dienenden Senatoren sowie der *princeps senatus* M. Aemilius Scaurus (cos. 115) zu Adherbal hielten (*Iug.* 15, 3-5). Offenbar, so EUTR. IV, 26, 1, war auch Adherbal als *rex* und *amicus populi Romani* anerkannt. Dies spräche tatsächlich dafür, dass Adherbal über mächtige Unterstützer im Senat verfügte; ebenso der Umstand, dass er vor dem Senat in einer Rede seine Klagen gegen Iugurtha und seinen eigenen Standpunkt vorbringen durfte (*Iug.* 13, 9-15, 1). Zu Adherbals Unterstützern aus dem Ritterstand siehe auch BALBO (2016), S. 71-74. Gegen Iugurtha schien sich auch L. Opimius (cos. 121) ausgesprochen zu haben (dazu *Iug.* 16, 3). Zu Iugurthas Unterstützern und Gegnern in Rom siehe auch ILEVARE (1977), S. 52-54; KURITA (1988). Während LÖFFL (2014), S. 164-167, 173-179 Iugurthas Feinde fast ausschließlich im *ordo equester* verortet,



v.Chr. einen solchen übermächtigen Senator überhaupt? Zu dieser Zeit strebten zwar die plebejischen Caecilii Metelli dem Gipfelpunkt ihres politischen Einflusses entgegen und wären wegen ihrer zahlreichen konsularischen Vertreter im Senat womöglich sogar ausschlaggebend für den Ausgang der Senatsberatungen gewesen.<sup>8</sup> Leider ist über die Positionierung jener Meteller in der numidischen Frage überhaupt nichts bekannt.<sup>9</sup> In genau dieser Situation dürfte sich für Iugurtha die bittere Erkenntnis offenbart haben, dass ihm ein wirkmächtiger, politisch einflussreicher Patron in Rom fehlte. Dabei hatte er doch diesbezüglich optimale Vorkehrungen getroffen, als er 134 v.Chr. mit Scipio Aemilianus bei der Belagerung Numantias eine *amicitia*-Beziehung begründet hatte.<sup>10</sup> Zu

vermutet SCHIETINGER (2016), S. 591-593 diese nicht ganz so dezidiert zwar ebenso im Ritterstand, sieht sie aber eben auch in einer im Senat nicht mehrheits- und durchsetzungsfähigen Minderheit von Senatoren, zu denen er den designierten Konsul Sp. Postumius Albinus zählt (S. 598-601).

<sup>8</sup> Zum Einfluss der Caecilii Metelli siehe u.a. SYME (1939), S. 20; WISEMAN (1965); VAN OOTEGHEM (1967), S. 329-334; sowie in jüngster Zeit COVINO (2013); PENA (2012), S. 141; SCHIETINGER (2013).

<sup>9</sup> Ohne einen Quellenbeleg dafür anzuführen, sieht ILEVARE (1977), S. 54 in der „dominant Metellan faction“ die gegen Iugurtha treibende Kraft im Senat. Auch LÖFFL (2014), S. 113, 126 glaubt eine Einflussnahme der *gens Metella* zu erkennen (S. 126): „Diesem Adelshaus war mit Aemilius Scaurus ein wichtiger Akteur des Geschehens in Numidien verpflichtet. [...] Die nordafrikanischen Könige waren seit Masinissa den Nachfahren des Scipio Africanus verpflichtet. Trotz des traditionellen Engagements der *gens Cornelia* in die die numidischen Dynastie betreffenden Angelegenheiten fällt jedoch das Kommando im iugurthinischen Krieg nicht an Scipio Nasica [cos. 111], sondern an Bestia und seinen Legaten Scaurus, was auf eine Einflussnahme der *gens Caecilia Metella* hindeutet.“ Dagegen ist einzuwenden: 1.) Völlig unumstritten ist das Verhältnis zwischen Aemilius Scaurus und den Caecilii Metelli in der Forschung nämlich nicht, wofür die Einwände von SHATZMAN (1974) stehen. Eine endgültige vollumfängliche Klärung dieses „Freundschaftsverhältnisses“ ist noch ein Forschungsdesiderat. 2.) In direkter oder sonstiger Nachfolge der *domus Africani* steht der erwähnte Scipio Nasica nicht. Diese Linie erlischt mit Scipio Aemilianus, dessen Verhältnis zu den Nasicae nicht unkompliziert war, was u.a. ETCHETO (2012), S. 143-146, 150-151, 155 hervorhob. 3.) Auf die Vergabe des Oberbefehls gegen Iugurtha hatten die Meteller wahrscheinlich keinen Einfluss, weil dieser im Losverfahren – das ergibt sich aus SALL., *Iug.* 26, 3-4: *Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia [sorte] obuenit* – vergeben wurde. 4.) Und selbst wenn die Meteller dieses Losverfahren hätten beeinflussen können, bleibt es gänzlich unverständlich, weshalb sie ausgerechnet ihren Schwiegersohn Scipio Nasica (Cic., *dom.* 123; *Brut.* 212; ETCHETO [2012], S. 182-183) gegenüber Calpurnius Bestia benachteiligt haben sollten. Folglich lässt sich die politische Position der Meteller-Konsulare bezüglich Iugurtha und der numidischen Angelegenheiten nicht präzise und klar herausarbeiten.

<sup>10</sup> SALL., *Iug.* 7, 6; 8, 2-9, 2: In einem Brief empfiehlt Scipio dem Micipsa Iugurtha gewissermaßen als Thronfolger (9, 2: *habes uirum dignum te atque auo suo Masinissa*). Dazu auch HACKL (1982), S. 126-127; RITTER (1987), S. 87; SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 105, 107; SAMPSON (2010), S. 35-36; LÖFFL (2014), S. 79-83; DIX (2006), S. 90-103, bes. S. 104-105; EARL (1966), S. 67-68; CLAASSEN (1993), S. 289; ILEVARE (1977), S. 44, 50; TIMPE (1962), S. 353-354; MONTGOMERY (2013), S. 30-31, der sogar davon ausgeht,

Iugurthas Leidwesen war Scipio bereits 129 v.Chr. unter merkwürdigen Umständen verstorben.<sup>11</sup> Der Frage, wer nach dem Tod des Aemilianus Iugurthas Patron in Rom war, wurde bislang in der Forschung keinerlei Beachtung geschenkt.<sup>12</sup> Daher soll diese Abhandlung folgenden Fragen nachgehen: Wie gestaltete sich 118 v.Chr. die numidische Thronfolge? Welche Erbansprüche konnten Iugurtha, Adherbal und Hiempsal vorweisen? Wie wirkte sich der verhältnismäßig frühe Tod des Scipio Aemilianus auf die numidische Thronfolge aus? Wer trat als Haupterbe und Rechtsnachfolger an Scipios Stelle? Übernahm dieser auch seine Rolle als Patron Numidiens? Warum fehlte dann Iugurtha im entscheidenden Moment ein mächtiger Schutzherr in Rom, der seine Alleinherrschaft über Numidien hätte durchsetzen können?

Dieser Beitrag soll die Ursachen des numidischen Thronstreits einer kritischen Revision unterziehen, bei der Iugurtha nicht mehr als der bei Sallust geschilderte skrupellose Prätendent erscheint,<sup>13</sup> sondern vielmehr als ‚politischer Pechvogel‘,<sup>14</sup> dem im entscheidenden Moment trotz aller gut durchdachten Vorkehrungen ein wirkmächtiger senatorischer Fürsprecher in Rom fehlte

dass Scipio Iugurtha das numidische Königtum in Aussicht gestellt hat. Aus Iugurthas *amicitia* folgert WALTER (2006), S. 13, dass Iugurtha, und nicht sein Adoptivbruder und Vetter Adherbal die Tradition der guten Beziehungen zwischen Numidien und den Scipionen bzw. Rom verkörperte.

<sup>11</sup> Zum Tod des Aemilianus siehe APP., *ciu.* I, 20; PLUT., *C. Gr.* 9, 4; *Rom.* 27, 4; AUCT., *de uir. ill.* 58, 10; LIV., *Per.* LIX, 16f.; OROS. V, 10, 9f.; VAL. MAX. IV, 1, 12; VELL. II, 4, 5. Ebenso auch CIC., *Lael.* 12; *Mil.* 16; *fat.* 18. Siehe auch SIGISMUND (2008), S. 89-106; WERNER (1969); SCHIETINGER (2014).

<sup>12</sup> BILZ (1935), S. 66-79, ASTIN (1967), S. 227-244 und ZAHRT (2010), S. 170-171 gehen auf das Problem der Rechtsnachfolge des Scipio Aemilianus nicht ein. Auch MÜNZER (1900) übergeht diese Frage. ETCHETO (2012), S. 144, der diese Problematik immerhin kurz streift, vermutet dagegen, leider ohne dabei allzu präzise zu werden, in den Neffen des Aemilianus seine Erben.

<sup>13</sup> Als skrupelloser, mal listiger, mal gewalttätiger Machtpolitiker erscheint Iugurtha bei Sallust an folgenden Stellen: *Iug.* 11, 1; 11, 7-9; 13, 2; 20-23; 26, 3. Adherbal dagegen wird von Sallust (*Iug.* 14; 24, 2-10) stets als unschuldig Opfer von Iugurthas Aggressionen dargestellt. Ähnlich das Urteil bei LIV., *Per.* LXI, 1; FLOR., I, 36, 2-6; EUTR. IV, 26, 1. Dazu auch TIMPE (1962), S. 365: „Eine genaue Beobachtung der Kriegsführung und Politik Iugurthas zeigt hauptsächlich zweierlei: einmal, daß Iugurtha ganz und gar persönliche Politik betreibt, die immer für sich das Beste erreichen will, dafür jenseits aller Moral alle Mittel einsetzt, sehr wendig ist und sich selbst unverändert treu bleibt. Zum anderen zeigt sich, daß Iugurtha damit in gewissem Umfang der römischen Adelspolitik angemessen und entsprechend handelt und dadurch begrenzte Erfolge hat. [...] Dadurch verkalkuliert sich Iugurtha entscheidend, seine Politik ist zwar skrupellos und schlau, aber nicht immer klug.“ Ähnlich negativ kommt Iugurtha bei STORM (2001), S. 88-89 weg. Zur literarischen Beurteilung der Iugurtha-Figur bei Sallust siehe DIX (2006), S. 277-286. Auch bei FLOR. I, 36, 2 besteht ein sehr negatives Iugurtha-Bild: *rex callidissimus* und *rex fraude praecipuus*.

<sup>14</sup> Ein in diese Richtung gehendes Iugurtha-Bild lieferte LÖFFL (2014), S. 171-179.

– im Gegensatz zu Ptolemaios XII.<sup>15</sup> Ebenso soll die für einen fremden Klientelkönig in Rom so wichtige Protektion durch einen Patron am Fallbeispiel des Iugurtha veranschaulicht und vergegenwärtigt werden.<sup>16</sup>

## 2. Die numidische Thronfolge. Scipios Herrschaftsteilung 148 v.Chr.

Bezüglich der dynastischen Sukzession innerhalb des numidischen Königshauses markiert das Jahr 148 v.Chr. einen einschneidenden Wendepunkt. Vor der mit Rom über den älteren Scipio Africanus geschlossenen *amicitia*<sup>17</sup> war die Thronfolge einwandfrei eine innernumidische Angelegenheit, welche klaren Erbfolgegesetzmäßigkeiten (*mos*) folgte.<sup>18</sup> Als jedoch der greise Massinissa 148 v.Chr. im Sterben lag, ließ er nach Scipio Aemilianus, der zu diesem Zeitpunkt unter dem Konsul Manilius als *tribunus militum* am Feldzug gegen Karthago teilnahm, rufen, damit dieser ihn bei der Regelung seiner Rechtsnachfolge berate.<sup>19</sup> Diesem Ereignis kommt eine einschneidende Bedeutung für die numidische Thronfolgepraxis zu.

Den wohl ausführlichsten und detailliertesten Bericht zu diesem Sachverhalt liefert Appian:<sup>20</sup> Kurz vor seinem Tod wurde Massinissa vom Senat aufgefordert, den römischen Feldzug gegen Karthago stärker zu unterstützen. Bevor Massinissa verstarb, schickte er noch nach Scipio. In diesem Zusammenhang wird das seit dem älteren Africanus bestehende Verhältnis hervorgehoben. Daraus geht klar hervor, dass Scipio aufgrund patronaler Verpflichtungen herbeigerufen wurde.<sup>21</sup> Bemerkenswert ist hierbei auch Appians Wortwahl bezüglich

<sup>15</sup> Zur Rom-Politik des Ptolemaios XII. siehe CHRISTMANN (2005). Ein erster kleinerer Vergleich zwischen Iugurtha und Ptolemaios XII. findet sich bei CHRISTMANN (2005), S. 114, Anm. 10; SCHIETINGER (2016), S. 603, Anm. 100.

<sup>16</sup> Worauf SCHIETINGER (2016), S. 603-604 bereits kurz hingewiesen hat.

<sup>17</sup> BURTON (2011), S. 1-6 und S. 108-114 kritisiert Badians Konzept der „*foreign clientelae*“ als „*fixture of modern scholarship*“ und sieht das Verhältnis zwischen Rom und Numidien auf der Ebene einer „*interpersonal and international amicitia*“ zwischen Scipio Africanus und Massinissa. Auch die Quellen gehen für das später zwischen Scipio Aemilianus einerseits und Massinissa bzw. Micipsa und Iugurtha andererseits bestehende Verhältnis von *amicitia* aus, vgl. SALL., *Iug.* 5, 4-5 oder 9, 2; APP., *Lib.* 105 (497), der von *φιλία* spricht. Dementgegen verwendet FLOR. I, 36, 3 den Begriff *clientela*. Zu den Begriffen *amicitia* und *clientela* siehe ausführlich BURTON (2003).

<sup>18</sup> Siehe dazu ausführlich LIV. XXIX, 29, 6-7; SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 99-109. Dafür, dass es ein klar geregeltes Sukzessionsrecht gab, spricht LIV. XXIX, 29, 6: *ita mos apud Numidas est*.

<sup>19</sup> Dazu u.a. APP., *Lib.* 104-105 (491-495); LIV., *Per.* L, 5-10; ZON. IX, 27. Siehe auch BILZ (1935), S. 31-34; BADIAN (1958), S. 137-138, 164; SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 100-102; RITTER (1987), S. 80-85; STORM (2001), S. 87-91; KADRA-HADJADJI (2005), S. 41-50; LÖFFL (2014), S. 64-72, 84-90.

<sup>20</sup> APP., *Lib.* 105-107 (495-503).

<sup>21</sup> APP., *Lib.* 105 (497): *ἐκάλει τὸν Σκιπίωνα κατὰ φιλίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ πάππου*. STORM (2001), S. 91 sieht bei diesem Sachverhalt „allein den Willen Roms“ als

der Aufgabe Scipios: Er sollte Massinissa wegen seiner königlichen Rechtsnachfolge beraten.<sup>22</sup> Die Rolle eines „Ratgebers“ (ὁ σύμβουλος) klingt angesichts Scipios tatsächlicher Fürsorgegewalt äußerst beschönigend, weil sie impliziert, dass Scipio in dieser Nachfolgefrage nur ein Mitbestimmungsrecht gehabt hätte, während Massinissa souverän über die letztgültige Entscheidungskompetenz verfügt hätte.<sup>23</sup> Aufgrund der bestehenden speziellen *amicitia* erscheint es vielmehr so, dass Scipio bezüglich der numidischen Thronfolge das letzte Wort beanspruchen durfte. Nicht minder bedeutsam ist es, dass Massinissa seinen drei legitimen Söhnen einschärft, sich Scipios Entscheidungsgewalt folgsam zu unterwerfen.<sup>24</sup> Auch bezüglich der drei legitimen Nachkommen Massinissas lässt Appian Aufschlussreiches über deren Wesensart verlauten. Zunächst einmal unterschieden sie sich hinsichtlich ihrer Fähigkeiten (τὰ ἔργα) stark voneinander.<sup>25</sup> In einem späteren Abschnitt wird diese Behauptung präzisiert: Micipsa, der älteste Sohn, sei äußerst friedliebend (εἰρηνικώτατος) gewesen; Gulussa dagegen eine soldatisch-kriegerische Natur (στρατιωτικός), und Mastanabal, der Jüngste, zeichnete sich als gerechtigkeitsliebend (ἡσκει δικαιοσύνην) aus.<sup>26</sup> Diese Wesensarten scheint Scipio bei der späteren Herrschaftsaufteilung nach Kompetenzbereichen offenbar gezielt berücksichtigt zu haben.<sup>27</sup> Nachdem er Massinissas illegitime Söhne mit Abfindungsgeschenken bedacht

„maßgebend“ an und folgert daraus: „Scipio Aemilianus konnte daher nur tun, was der Senat beschlossen hatte. Deshalb ist auch belanglos, dass sich der sterbende König an den Militärtribunen Scipio und nicht an den Oberbefehlshaber, den Konsul M. Manilius, gewandt hatte. Das Ergebnis wäre auf jeden Fall dasselbe gewesen.“ Dieser irrigen Schlussfolgerung ist entgegenzusetzen, dass, hätte es zur numidischen Thronfolge tatsächlich einen Senatsbeschluss gegeben, wofür es keinen Quellenbeleg gibt, dann hätte tatsächlich der damals amtierende und gerade in Nordafrika weilende Konsul Manilius als oberster Repräsentant der Römischen Republik dieses *senatus consultum* exekutiert. Dass er jedoch nur einen subalternen Stabsoffizier, den Militärtribunen Scipio (der sich zwar als Offizier bislang exzellent bewährt hatte und auch über eine beeindruckende *commendatio maiorum* verfügte, aber dennoch nur von quästorischem Rang und als solcher für eine derart wichtige außenpolitische Aufgabe schlicht zu niederrangig war) entsandte, zeigt, dass der Fall auf der Ebene des Verhältnisses zwischen römischem Patron und auswärtigem Klienten bzw. nach BURTON (2011), S. 1-6 als „interpersonal and international *amicitia*“ zu betrachten ist. Bei ZON. IX, 27 (ὅν ὁ ὕπατος ἔστειλεν) erfährt man, dass der Konsul Manilius seinen Militärtribunen freistellte und entsandte, damit dieser seiner patronalen Fürsorgepflicht entsprechen konnte. Siehe dazu auch SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 102; besonders RITTER (1987), S. 81-85.

<sup>22</sup> APP., *Lib.* 105 (497): σύμβουλόν οἱ περὶ τῶν τέκτων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς.

<sup>23</sup> Zu Massinissas Souveränität in Nachfolgefragen siehe BADIAN (1958), S. 137-138; SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 101-102; RITTER (1987), S. 81-83; STORM (2001), S. 89-91; LÖFFL (2014), S. 66-68, 86-87.

<sup>24</sup> APP., *Lib.* 105 (498): ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἀποψύχων ἐπέσκηψε τοῖς παισὶ πείθεσθαι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς διαιρῇ τὰ ὄντα. Vgl. LIV., *Per.* L, 7.

<sup>25</sup> APP., *Lib.* 105 (497): γνησίους δὲ τρεῖς οὐδὲν ἀλλήλοις τὰ ἔργα ἐοικότες.

<sup>26</sup> APP., *Lib.* 106 (502). Vgl. dazu ZON. IX, 27.

<sup>27</sup> So auch APP., *Lib.* 106 (502).

hatte,<sup>28</sup> setzte er nicht etwa einen neuen König ein, sondern nahm eine Erbteilung unter den drei legitimen Söhnen vor: Als gemeinsames Erbe erhielten sie den königlichen Schatz, die Rechte an der Steuereintreibung sowie den Königstitel.<sup>29</sup> Hierbei unterstreicht Appian Scipios willkürliche, eigenmächtige Vorgehensweise.<sup>30</sup> Im Einzelnen erhielt der älteste Sohn, Micipsa, die Hauptstadt Cirta mitsamt der königlichen Residenz. Dem nächstältesten Sohn, Gulussa, wurde die Verfügungsgewalt über Krieg und Frieden zugesprochen, während dem Jüngsten, Mastanabal, die Rechtssprechung übertragen wurde.<sup>31</sup> Auffällig an Appians Schilderung ist, wenn man sie von den anderen Quellen isoliert betrachtet, ein Umstand, der bislang noch keine Beachtung fand:<sup>32</sup> Lediglich Micipsa bekam keine weitere gesonderte Kompetenz zugestanden. Während seine jüngeren Brüder mit Außenpolitik, Kriegswesen und Justizwesen betraut wurden, erhielt Micipsa nur die Residenzstadt mit dem zugehörigen Königspalast. Dies führte zu der irrigen Beurteilung, Micipsa hätte gewissermaßen eine ehrenvolle Vorzugsstellung gegenüber seinen Brüdern erhalten.<sup>33</sup> Das mag zwar bei erster oberflächlicher Betrachtung einleuchten, steht jedoch diametral zu den tatsächlichen von Scipio verwirklichten Machtverhältnissen der Dreierherrschaft. Denn Micipsa mag lediglich einen formalen Ehrenvorrang erhalten haben, der jedoch weder machtpolitischen Wert hatte noch praktischen Gestaltungsspielraum versprach, weil ihm kein gesonderter Einflussbereich zugestanden worden ist.<sup>34</sup> Micipsa erwies sich daher als der eigentliche Verlierer bei der von Scipio verfüigten numidischen Thronfolge.

<sup>28</sup> APP., *Lib.* 106 (501). Seine unehelichen, nicht erbberechtigten Söhne hatte Massinissa selbst zuvor schon mit Geschenken abgefunden, dazu APP., *Lib.* 105 (497).

<sup>29</sup> APP., *Lib.* 106 (501): τοῖς γνησίοις τοὺς μὲν θησαυροὺς καὶ φόρους καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς βασιλείας κοινὸν ἀπέφηνε.

<sup>30</sup> APP., *Lib.* 106 (502): τὰ δ' ἄλλα διεκρίνεν ὡς ἔμελλεν ἀρμόσειν πρὸς τὸ ἐβούλετο ἕκαστος. Ähnlich wird das bei LIV., *Per.* L, 7: *et diuidere eos arbitro Scipione iussisset*, beurteilt. SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 101 stellt sogar dazu fest: „Il est plus probable que la mort du vieux roi laissa Scipion maître de s'arroger le droit de régler la succession numide [...]“. Außerdem ergänzt er (S. 102), dass Scipio „réglait à son gré, dans le sens de l'opinion qu'[il] se faisait de l'intérêt supérieur de la patrie, la succession de Numidie.“

<sup>31</sup> APP., *Lib.* 106 (502). Vgl. hierzu LIV., *Per.* L, 7; ZON. IX, 27.

<sup>32</sup> Vgl. BILZ (1935), S. 32-33; BADIAN (1958), S. 137-138; SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 100-102; RITTER (1987), S. 80-85; STORM (2001), S. 87-91; KADRA-HADJADJI (2005), S. 41-50; LÖFFL (2014), S. 86-87.

<sup>33</sup> Dazu STORM (2001), S. 88: „Appian macht bei diesen Angaben keinen Unterschied in der rechtlichen Stellung der Brüder. Trotzdem war Micipsa als dem Rangältesten mit dem Besitz von Cirta und dem Königspalast eine Art Vorsitz eingeräumt worden.“

<sup>34</sup> Das ergibt sich zumindest aus APP., *Lib.* 106 (501-502). LIV., *Per.* L, 7 steht dieser Deutung zwar nicht entgegen, bestätigt sie aber auch nicht. ZON. IX, 27 dagegen behauptet, Micipsa habe die Finanzverwaltung Numidiens erhalten (andererseits lässt sich bei ZON. IX, 27 nichts über einen formalen Ehrevorgang Micipsas in Erfahrung bringen): τῶ μὲν γὰρ πρεσβυτάτῳ χρημισιτῆ τε ὄντι καὶ φιλοπλούτῳ τὴν διοίκησιν ἐνεχείρισε.

Für diesen Ereigniszusammenhang liefern auch die Livius-Periochen leider keine weiteren ergiebigen Informationen.<sup>35</sup> Zonaras allerdings gibt, wenn auch aus der Rückschau von mehreren Jahrhunderten Zeitabstand, noch eine aufschlussreiche Hintergrundinformation bezüglich der offenbar von Massinissa intendierten Thronfolge: Kurz vor seinem Ableben und noch vor der Ankunft Scipios übergab Massinissa seinem ältesten Sohn Micipsa seinen königlichen Siegelring.<sup>36</sup> Die symbolische Bedeutung dieser Begebenheit ist eindeutig: Massinissa designierte damit offiziell seinen ältesten Sohn zu seinem Thronfolger.<sup>37</sup> Das ist insofern auch nicht verwunderlich, weil dies den bisherigen numidischen Sukzessionspraktiken entsprach.<sup>38</sup> Dieser Befund wirft die Frage auf, weshalb Micipsa nicht die alleinige Nachfolge seines verstorbenen Vaters antreten durfte.<sup>39</sup> Hier kam Scipio Aemilianus ins Spiel, der gewissermaßen als

Das steht jedoch im Widerspruch zu APP., *Lib.* 106 (501), aus dem hervorgeht, dass der Staatsschatz und die Steuereintreibung allen drei Königen übertragen worden sind. Die machtpolitisch stärkste Position erhielt Gulussa, über den es bei APP., *Lib.* 106 (502) aufschlussreich heißt: Γολόσση δέ, [...], πολέμου τε καὶ εἰρήνης εἶναι κυρίω. Als „Herr über Krieg und Frieden“ dürfte die Außenpolitik zu seinem Ressort gehört haben. Dazu auch ZON. IX, 27: τῷ δὲ Γουλούσσῃ πολεμικῶι τυγχάνοντι τὰς δυνάμεις παρέδωκε. Im Krieg gegen Karthago offenbarte sich sein außenpolitisches Gewicht, als er als *amicus et socius populi Romani* und Kommandeur des numidischen Hilfstruppenkontingents in Erscheinung trat. Damit war er für Rom faktisch zum entscheidenden Ansprechpartner auf numidischer Seite geworden. Siehe dazu APP., *Lib.* 107 (503): ὁ Σκιπίων [...] καὶ Γολόσσην εὐθὺς ἐς συμμαχίαν ἐπήγετο. Dazu auch LIV., *Per.* L, 10; ZON. IX, 27: καὶ τὸν Γουλούσσαν παραλαβὼν πρὸς τὸν ὑπατον ἤγαγεν.

<sup>35</sup> LIV., *Per.* L, 7: *Inter tres liberos eius (maximus natu Micipsa, Gulussa, Mastanabal, qui etiam Graecis litteris eruditus erat) P. Scipio Aemilianus, cum commune his regnum pater reliquisset et diuidere eos arbitro Scipione iussisset, partes administrandi regni diuisit.*

<sup>36</sup> ZON. IX, 27: ἀλλ' ὁ Μασινισσας πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐκλείπων τὸν μὲν δακτύλιον τῷ Μικίψῃ τῷ υἱῷ ἔδωκε. Für die Siegelring-Episode ist Zonaras (IX, 27) der einzige Gewährsmann. Obwohl nicht klar ist, woher er diese Information hat, so erscheint die Übergabe des königlichen Siegelringes an Micipsa plausibel, zumal sie mit den bisherigen numidischen Thronfolgeregeln in Einklang zu bringen ist, vgl. Anm. 38.

<sup>37</sup> Dazu STORM (2001), S. 89. Siehe auch BADIAN (1958), S. 137; SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 102; LÖFFL (2014), S. 86-87.

<sup>38</sup> Siehe LIV. XXIX, 29, 6-7; SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 99-109.

<sup>39</sup> Diese Frage wirft auch STORM (2001), S. 89 auf: „Aber hatte der Sterbende nicht Micipsa seinen Siegelring als Machtsymbol übergeben? Und kam diese Geste nicht einer Investitur gleich? Warum hat er den darin ausgedrückten Willen nicht offiziell bekundet? Denn der von ihm geschaffenen, an hellenistischen Vorbildern ausgerichteten Nachfolgeordnung entsprechend hätte der Erstgeborene Micipsa alleiniger König des Numiderreichs werden müssen.“ Anzumerken ist an dieser Stelle, dass Storm offenbar die numidischen Thronfolgepraktiken nicht zu kennen scheint und LIV. XXIX, 29, 6-7 sowie SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 99-109 komplett ignoriert und stattdessen ein angeblich durch Massinissa eingeführtes hellenistisches Sukzessionsrecht bemüht. Denn die Übergabe des Siegelrings ist vielmehr so zu deuten, dass Massinissa gemäß numidischem Brauch seinen Nachfolger, nämlich den nächstältesten männlichen Verwandten aus der



Patron der numidischen Dynastie die Nachfolgeregelung übernahm. Ganz offenbar war Scipio mit der von Massinissa vorgenommenen Nachfolgebestimmung nicht einverstanden; denn andernfalls hätte er Micipsa als neuen König bestätigen können, anstatt durch seine vorgenommenen Nachfolgeverfügungen einen Präzedenzfall zu schaffen, der im Widerspruch zu den numidischen Thronfolgegepflogenheiten stand. Man kommt also nicht umhin, in Scipios Regelungen eine gezielte Zurückweisung Micipsas als eigentlichem Alleinerben des Königtums zu sehen. Scipios Kalkül lässt sich entgegen der gängigen Forschungsmeinungen<sup>40</sup> folgendermaßen deuten: Da es ihm kaum möglich war, entgegen der bisher üblichen numidischen Gepflogenheiten Micipsa völlig zu entrecchten und auszuspüren, um seinen präsumtiven Favoriten Gulussa einseitig zu begünstigen, musste er einen mit den numidischen Thronfolgepraktiken zu vereinbarenden Kompromiss finden: Micipsa wurde also auch König, erhielt aber keine gesonderten Herrschaftsrechte. Gulussa konnte als Zweitgeborener nicht die alleinige Herrschaftsgewalt übertragen werden, auch wenn dies Scipio vermutlich gern getan hätte. Darum wählte Scipio mit der Dreierherrschaft eine scheinbar salomonische Lösung, bei der Micipsa faktisch weitestgehend entmachtet wurde, sein präsumtiver Favorit Gulussa die stärkste Stellung innehatte, und Mastanabal, um den Anschein eines Gleichgewichts der Macht zu wahren, ebenso an der Herrschaft beteiligt wurde. Ein überzeugendes Motiv Scipios für diese gezielte Benachteiligung und faktische Entmachtung Micipsas liefert Appian, der Micipsa elativisch als *εἰρηνικώτατος* beschreibt.<sup>41</sup> Das Charakteristikum, äußerst friedliebend zu sein, klingt zunächst einmal (besonders nach unserem modernen Verständnis) sehr positiv; aber war es das auch in der römischen Perspektive, besonders der des Scipio? Ferner ließe sich in diesem Attribut auch eine euphemistische Verklärung für „ängstlich“, „unmilitärisch“ und „führungsschwach“ erkennen.<sup>42</sup>

agnatischen Linie, investiert. Aus demselben Grund kann RITTER (1987), S. 82 ebenso wenig überzeugen, welcher Zonaras so deutet, dass Micipsa den Siegelring Scipio zu überreichen hatte. Dazu auch BADIAN (1958), S. 137; LÖFFL (2014), S. 86-87.

<sup>40</sup> Eine gezielte Schwächung Numidiens als Motiv sehen BADIAN (1958), S. 137; STORM (2001), S. 90-91; LÖFFL (2014), S. 86-88. Gegen diese Überlegung sprechen sich BILZ (1935), S. 29-31 und WALSH (1965), S. 155-156 aus, welche die machtpolitische Schwäche und Abhängigkeit Numidiens hervorheben.

<sup>41</sup> APP., *Lib.* 106 (502). Aufschlussreich ist hierzu die Kontrastierung mit den Micipsas Brüdern zugeschriebenen Eigenschaften, vgl. *Lib.* 106 (502): Mastanabal steht für die Tugend der Gerechtigkeit (*ἡσκει δικαιοσύνην*) und Gulussa für kriegerische Tapferkeit (*στρατιωτικός*).

<sup>42</sup> Die dem Micipsa von APP., *Lib.* 106 (502) attestierte „Friedfertigkeit“ ergänzt sich schlüssig mit dem Micipsa-Bild anderer Geschichtsschreiber: DIOD. XXXIV, 35 präsentiert ihn als besonnenen, kultivierten Philosophenkönig, der gebildete Griechen an seinen Hof holte. In der ihm von SALL., *Iug.* 10 in den Mund gelegten Rede auf dem Sterbebett erscheint Micipsa als kluger, väterlich milder Staatsmann, der sein gefestigtes Reich nun in die Obhut seiner drei Nachfolger übergibt, die er zur Eintracht ermahnt. Den Eindruck eines skrupellosen Machtpolitikers erweckt Sallusts Micipsa ansonsten



Dennoch könnte Micipsa von Scipio unterschätzt und als gewiefter Machtpolitiker verkannt worden sein: Denn bezeichnenderweise hielt die durch Scipio verfügte Dreierherrschaft nicht lange, weil Gulussa und Mastanabal sehr früh durch Krankheiten dahingerafft verstarben.<sup>43</sup> So übernahm Micipsa also um 139 v.Chr. die Alleinherrschaft; und das unerwartet frühe Ableben beider Brüder (und Rivalen) erscheint in diesem Zusammenhang wie ein sehr merkwürdiger Zufall, aus dem nur Micipsa einen evidenten Vorteil ziehen konnte.<sup>44</sup> Bezeichnend dabei ist auch, dass die Söhne der verstorbenen Könige, z.B. Iugurtha, Gauda und Massiva, nicht an deren Stelle traten. Micipsa war folglich doch in der Lage, seinen Machtanspruch in der Praxis abzusichern und gegen Scipios Absicht durchzusetzen.

### 3. Die numidische Thronfolge. Iugurthas Thronansprüche und Micipsas Sukzessionspolitik

Während Scipio Aemilianus es bei Massinissas Thronfolgeregelung vermieden hatte, einen einzigen Thronfolger zu benennen, legte er sich bei Micipsas Nachfolge schon erstaunlich früh, nämlich sogar noch zu Lebzeiten des amtierenden Numiderkönigs, klar auf einen Kandidaten fest. Nachdem Iugurtha sich während der einjährigen Belagerung Numantias nicht nur als fähiger Kommandeur des numidischen Hilfstruppenverbandes, sondern auch als äußerst tüchtiger Militär hervorgetan hatte, gewann er nicht nur Scipios Gunst und Vertrauen.<sup>45</sup> Dass die

nur zwischen den Zeilen: Doch in *Iug.* 5, 6-7, 3 dominiert die angebliche Furcht des alternden Micipsa vor dem präsumtiven Usurpator Iugurtha, der den scheinbar legitimen Thronerben Adherbal und Hiempsal ihre Herrschaftsrechte streitig macht. Darum wirkt Micipsa, obwohl man die Schilderung bei Sallust durchaus auch entgegen ihrer suggestiven Tendenz auffassen kann, wie ein besorgter Vater, der nur die Rechte seiner Söhne gegen einen illegitimen Prätendenten verteidigt. Dass sich dies eben auch genau andersherum interpretieren lässt, zeigen DIX (2006), S. 70-82 und SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 102-105: Daher ist das Bild des gerechten, friedfertigen Philosophenkönigs Micipsa nicht länger überzeugend; zumal in ihm vielmehr ein skrupelloser dynastischer Machtpolitiker zu sehen wäre, der vor keiner boshaften List zur Beseitigung des legitimen Thronerben Iugurtha zurückschreckt, um den eigenen Söhnen entgegen des numidischen Sukzessionsrechts die Königsherrschaft zu ermöglichen.

<sup>43</sup> SALL., *Iug.* 5, 6: *Dein Micipsa filius regnum solus obtinuit Mastanabale et Gulussa fratribus morbo absumptis*. Siehe auch SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 102-103; RITTER (1987), S. 85. Zur Verkennung Micipsas als Machtpolitiker siehe Anmerkung 42.

<sup>44</sup> SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 103 spricht richtigerweise davon, dass der frühe Tod Gulussas und Mastanabals „avait ainsi rétabli une situation conforme aux règles dynastiques.“

<sup>45</sup> Dazu SALL., *Iug.* 7, 4-7. Siehe auch: PINA POLO (2001); DIX (2006), S. 82-88; MONTGOMERY (2013), S. 25-27; LÖFFL (2014), S. 72-83. Zu Iugurthas Beliebtheit bei den Römern siehe *Iug.* 7, 7: *quibus rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia coniunxerat*. Siehe dazu BADIAN (1958), S. 193; TIMPE (1962), S. 352-353; EARL (1966), S. 64-66; DIX (2006), S. 82-97, 278-284; WALTER (2006), S. 12; MONTGOMERY (2013), S. 26-28; LÖFFL (2014), S. 79-80.

mit Scipio geschlossene *amicitia*<sup>46</sup> zu einem derart einflussreichen wie mächtigen Senator, wie es Scipio Aemilianus nun einmal war, in ihrer Bedeutung gar nicht hoch genug einzuschätzen ist,<sup>47</sup> zeigte sich anhand der Privatunterredung, welche Scipio mit Iugurtha geführt haben soll (Sall., *Iug.* 8, 2), und anhand des Empfehlungsschreibens, das Scipio an König Micipsa richtete (*Iug.* 9, 2).

In seinem Feldherrenzelt soll Scipio seinen talentierten wie aussichtsreichen Schützling Iugurtha unter vier Augen streng ins Gebet genommen haben: Dabei wurde Iugurtha angeblich davor gewarnt, seine Freundschaft mit Rom privat statt öffentlich zu pflegen sowie sich auf die Praxis der Bestechungsgeschenke einzulassen.<sup>48</sup> Der historische Kern dieses Gesprächs besteht wahrscheinlich darin, wie Montgomery trefflich herausgearbeitet hat, dass Scipio vor Numantia den Entschluss gefasst hat, den ihm als vielversprechend erscheinenden Numiderprinzen bereits frühzeitig als Nachfolger des Micipsa zu designieren.<sup>49</sup> Der zweite Adressat, dem diese Entscheidung mitgeteilt wurde, war König Micipsa. Das bei Sallust (*Iug.* 9, 2) an ihn überlieferte Empfehlungsschreiben spricht eine klare Sprache: *Iugurthae tui in bello Numantino longe maxuma uirtus fuit, quam rem tibi certo scio gaudio esse. Nobis ob merita sua carus est; ut idem senatui et populo Romano sit, summa ope nitetur. Tibi quidem pro nostra amicitia gratulor. Habes uirum dignum te atque auo suo Masinissa.*

Zwar steht auch hier außer Frage, dass Sallust wahrscheinlich nicht der originale Wortlaut von Scipios Brief an Micipsa vorlag;<sup>50</sup> nichtsdestotrotz ist es gar nicht so abwegig, dass der römische Konsul dem Numiderkönig tatsächlich Vergleichbares geschrieben haben könnte. Die wesentliche Botschaft dieses Briefes ist allerdings unmissverständlich: Er teilt Micipsa mit, dass er Iugurtha als *amicus* angenommen hat (*nobis ob merita sua carus est*) und dass er sich für ihn vor Senat und Volk von Rom nach Kräften einsetzen werde (*ut idem senatui et populo Romano [carus] sit, summa ope nitetur*). Iugurtha stand also unter dem persönlichen Schutz des damals mächtigsten Senators der Römischen

<sup>46</sup> SALL., *Iug.* 7, 4; 8, 2-9, 2. Siehe dazu TIMPE (1962), S. 352-353; CLAASSEN (1993), S. 289; DIX (2006), S. 97-103; MONTGOMERY (2013), S. 29-33; LÖFFL (2014), S. 79. Die Art von Beziehung, die Iugurtha mit Scipio Aemilianus eingeht, lässt sich gemäß BURTON (2011), S. 3-6, 109-111 auch treffend als „interpersonal and international *amicitia*“ interpretieren.

<sup>47</sup> Zur enormen Wichtigkeit der römischen Patrone für ihre auswärtigen Klientelkönige siehe BADIAN (1958), S. 154-167; grundlegend BRAUND (1984), S. 9-29.

<sup>48</sup> SALL., *Iug.* 8, 2: *ibique secreto monuit, ut potius publice quam priuatim amicitiam populi Romani coleret neu quibus largiri insuesceret. Periculose a paucis emi, quod multorum esset.* Die Historizität dieses Gesprächs ist nicht unstrittig, siehe dazu auch TIMPE (1962), S. 353-356; RITTER (1987), S. 87; DIX (2006), S. 97-103; MONTGOMERY (2013), S. 29-30; LÖFFL (2014), S. 79-81.

<sup>49</sup> Dazu MONTGOMERY (2013), S. 30-31 und besonders BADIAN (1958), S. 192 sowie SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 100, 102-105. Dazu auch ILEVBAR (1977), S. 44, 50; BRAUND (1984), S. 15-16; LÖFFL (2014), S. 82-83.

<sup>50</sup> Dazu DIX (2006), S. 104-105.

Republik, als deren Vertreter der Konsul Scipio die vorzeitige Anerkennung Iugurthas als künftiger König sowie als *amicus et socius populi Romani* vorgenommen hat. Iugurthas zukünftige Königsherrschaft war also durch die Anerkennung Roms schon 133 v.Chr. vorzeitig legitimiert.<sup>51</sup> Der letzte Satz des Briefes ist daher nichts anderes als die Designierung Iugurthas zum Nachfolger Micipsas. Obwohl das nicht direkt angesprochen wird, dürfte sowohl beim Absender als auch beim Empfänger der Nachricht unmissverständlich klar gewesen sein, dass es um die vorweggenommene Ernennung Iugurthas zum Kronprinzen ging.<sup>52</sup>

Für Micipsa traf genau das ein, was er ursprünglich unbedingt vermeiden wollte, nämlich dass Iugurtha seine Nachfolge als König antreten würde. Laut Sallust (*Iug.* 6, 2-7, 3) entsandte der Numiderkönig seinen Neffen Iugurtha gerade aus dem Grund nach Hispanien, um ihn elegant und geräuschlos als potentiellen Nachfolger aus dem Weg zu räumen.<sup>53</sup> Das Scheitern dieser Bestrebungen kommentiert Sallust (*Iug.* 7, 3) gehässig wie zutreffend mit den Worten: *Sed ea res longe aliter, ac ratus erat, euenit.* An dieser Stelle lohnt es sich, innezuhalten und sich folgende Ungereimtheit bei Sallust zu vergegenwärtigen: Laut Sallust war Iugurtha überhaupt kein legitimer Nachfolger, weil er als Bastard des Königs Mastanabal mit einer Konkubine schon zu Lebzeiten Massinissas von der Thronfolge ausgeschlossen worden war.<sup>54</sup> Sinnigerweise kommt Jahre später Hiempsal genau darauf zurück, indem er laut Sallust (*Iug.* 11, 3: *Sed Hiempsal, [...], antea ignobilitatem Iugurthae, quia materno genere inpar erat, despiciens*) diese Einwände gegen seinen Widersacher Iugurtha vorbringt. Zu hinterfragen ist an dieser Stelle, ob es sich bei diesen gegen Iugurtha formulierten Vorbehalten um Tatsachen oder eben nur um die Delegitimierungspropaganda seiner Rivalen Adherbal und Hiempsal handelte.<sup>55</sup> Der „Bastard-Einwand“ gegen Iugurtha ist zweifelsohne ein zeitlos überzeugend nachvollziehbarer Grund, ihn von der Königsherrschaft auszuschließen. Zu bedenken ist ferner, dass Iugurtha, Adherbal und Hiempsal sich in einem Machtkampf um die Nachfolge Micipsas befanden, und es ist daher keineswegs verwunderlich, dass ein solcher Diadochenkampf gerade auch propagandistisch mit harten Bandagen ausgetragen wurde.

<sup>51</sup> Zur Anerkennung auswärtiger Klientelkönige durch römische Patrone siehe BRAUND (1984), S. 23-29.

<sup>52</sup> Dazu BADIAN (1958), S. 192; TIMPE (1962), S. 353-354; EARL (1966), S. 67-68; SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 102-105; ILEVARE (1977), S. 50; HACKL (1982), S. 126-127; RITTER (1987), S. 87; CLAASSEN (1993), S. 289; DIX (2006), S. 90-105; MONTGOMERY (2013), S. 30-31; LÖFFL (2014), S. 82-83.

<sup>53</sup> Siehe dazu auch SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 102-105; ILEVARE (1977), S. 43-44; DIX (2006), S. 70-82.

<sup>54</sup> SALL., *Iug.* 5, 7: *Iugurthamque filium Mastanabalis fratris, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concubina erat, priuatum dereliquerat.*

<sup>55</sup> Siehe dazu auch ILEVARE (1977), S. 46-47.

Von diesem Einwand abgesehen stellt sich noch eine weitere Frage: Wenn Iugurtha als „königlicher Bastard“ von Anfang an von der Thronfolge ausgeschlossen war, wieso fürchtete ihn dann Micipsa überhaupt so sehr? Laut Sallust (*Iug.* 6, 2-3) ängstigte sich Micipsa einerseits besonders wegen Iugurthas außerordentlicher Tüchtigkeit; andererseits bangte er wegen seines eigenen womöglich verfrühten Ablebens während seine Söhne Adherbal und Hiempsal noch Kinder wären.<sup>56</sup> Dies, so Micipsas Wahrnehmung,<sup>57</sup> böte Iugurtha eine günstige Usurpationsgelegenheit, zumal er beim numidischen Volk äußerst beliebt war. Sinnigerweise sieht Micipsa die *studia Numidarum in Iugurtham adensa* gar nicht im Kontext eines möglichen Putschversuchs seines Neffen, sondern als unüberwindbares Hindernis für eine geräuschlose Beseitigung Iugurthas.<sup>58</sup> Demnach war nicht Iugurtha, sondern Micipsa der potentielle Aggressor. Was von Micipsas Furcht vor Iugurtha übrig bleibt, lässt sich kurz und knapp zusammenfassen: Der alternde Micipsa wollte seine eigenen kleinen Söhne als Nachfolger gegen den übermäßig tüchtigen Iugurtha durchsetzen;<sup>59</sup> deshalb musste er seinen Neffen irgendwie beseitigen, ohne dass es deswegen zu einem Volksaufstand der Numider käme. Micipsas Angst vor seinem Neffen, der als Bastard überhaupt keine Thronfolgeansprüche erheben und die Nachfolge von Adherbal und Hiempsal nicht bedrohen konnte, erscheint daher seltsam.

Da Sallusts Schilderungen zu diesem Sachverhalt an mehreren Stellen unschlüssig erscheinen, müssen sie grundlegend hinterfragt werden: War Iugurtha wirklich von der Thronfolge ausgeschlossen oder hatte er eben doch Ansprüche auf die Nachfolge Micipsas? Hierzu legte schon vor geraumer Zeit Saumagne einen so aufschlussreich wie schlüssig überzeugenden Standpunkt zur „Succession de Numidie“ vor,<sup>60</sup> der von der Forschung bislang leider nicht die gebotene Beachtung erfahren hat.<sup>61</sup> Saumagne stellte schon 1966 zu den numidischen Thronfolgepraktiken fest:<sup>62</sup> „le pouvoir passerait des mains du

<sup>56</sup> Zu den Altersverhältnissen im numidischen Königshaus siehe DIX (2006), S. 72: „Micipsa war zu dieser Zeit [134 v.Chr.] wahrscheinlich Mitte sechzig, Iugurtha muss etwa zwanzig Jahre alt gewesen sein. Adherbal und Hiempsal, die leiblichen Söhne des Königs, waren wohl noch keine zehn Jahre alt.“

<sup>57</sup> Siehe dazu DIX (2006), S. 74-77, die hervorhebt, dass von Iugurtha für Micipsa keine Gefahr ausging. Siehe dazu auch Anmerkung 42.

<sup>58</sup> SALL., *Iug.* 6, 3: *ad hoc studia Numidarum in Iugurtham adensa, ex quibus, si talem uirum dolis interfecisset, ne qua seditio aut bellum oriretur, anxius erat.* Siehe dazu auch DIX (2006), S. 77-82.

<sup>59</sup> SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 104-105; ILEVARE (1977), S. 49; DIX (2006), S. 70-82.

<sup>60</sup> SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 99-109.

<sup>61</sup> Nach dem Kenntnisstand des Verfassers fand SAUMAGNE (1966) nur bei ILEVARE (1977), S. 45-47 (große) Zustimmung. Bei RITTER (1987), S. 100, Anm. 218 stieß er auf Ablehnung. KADRA-HADJADJI (2005) führt ihn zwar in der Bibliographie auf, verzichtet jedoch an wichtigen Stellen (S. 41-50) auf eine Auseinandersetzung. Von STORM (2001), DIX (2006) und LÖFFL (2014) wurde er nicht mehr beachtet.

<sup>62</sup> SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 99. Ihm folgt darin ILEVARE (1977), S. 45-47.

prince défunt dans celles du plus âgé des agnats vivants.“ Die These, wonach der älteste (und nicht der *proximus*) *agnatus* bei den Numidern die Thronfolge antritt, begründet er mit den bei Livius (XXIX, 29, 6-12) geschilderten numidischen Sukzessionen:<sup>63</sup> Auf König Gala folgte nicht etwa sein ältester Sohn Massinissa, sondern Galas hoch betagter Bruder Oezalces.<sup>64</sup> Nachdem dieser bald darauf verstorben war, trat wieder nicht Massinissa, sondern sein Vetter, der ältere der beiden Söhne des Oezalces, das Thronerbe an.<sup>65</sup> Diese Sukzessionspraktiken galten bei den Numidern offenbar so lange, bis Scipio Aemilianus 148 v.Chr. in die Thronfolge eingriff.<sup>66</sup>

Angesichts dieser Umstände war Iugurtha 133 v.Chr. als nächstältester agnatischer Verwandter einwandfrei und unbestreitbar der einzige echte und legitime Kronprinz von Numidien und stand frühzeitig als alleiniger Nachfolger für Micipsa fest.<sup>67</sup> Dabei war er sowohl durch das numidische Thronfolgerecht als auch durch die Anerkennung Roms, vertreten durch den Prokonsul Scipio Aemilianus, seinen *amicus* und Patron, legitimiert.

Trotz dieser nach Saumagne recht klaren Herrschaftslegitimation konnte sich Iugurtha bekanntlich nach Micipsas Tod nicht als Alleinherrscher Numidiens durchsetzen. Berechtigterweise fragt Saumagne daher, wie Iugurtha vom alleinigen Nachfolger Micipsas nur noch zum Teilerben an der Herrschaft Numidiens degradiert werden konnte.<sup>68</sup> Dieser Machtverlust lässt sich nur durch einen Blick auf die in Rom ab 129 v.Chr. veränderten Gegebenheiten schlüssig erklären. Denn zweifellos hat der Tod des Scipio Aemilianus die Machtverhältnisse in der römischen Innenpolitik stark verändert.<sup>69</sup> Was in diesem Zusammenhang jedoch bisher keine Beachtung fand, sind die mit Scipios Tod verbundenen Veränderungen für seine auswärtigen *amici*, speziell für Micipsa und Iugurtha.

Folgt man Sallust und der bisherigen Mehrheitsmeinung der Forschung, so bewirkte Scipios „Empfehlungsschreiben“ die Adoption Iugurthas durch seinen leiblichen Onkel Micipsa.<sup>70</sup> Iugurtha wurde entweder 133 v.Chr. oder 121 v.Chr.

<sup>63</sup> SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 99-100.

<sup>64</sup> LIV. XXIX, 29, 6: *Militanti pro Carthaginiensibus in Hispania pater ei moritur; Galae nomen erat. Regnum ad fratrem regis Oezalcen pergrandem natu – ita mos apud Numidas est – peruenit.*

<sup>65</sup> LIV. XXIX, 29, 7: *Haud multo post Oezalce quoque mortuo maior ex duobus filiis eius Capussa, puero admodum altero, paternum imperium accepit.*

<sup>66</sup> SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 101-102.

<sup>67</sup> SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 104: „La position dans laquelle se trouvait Iugurtha en 133 sous Numance était donc celle d’un héritier présomptif auquel la coutume numide ne donnait pas d’associé ni de compétiteur légitime.“

<sup>68</sup> SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 104.

<sup>69</sup> ASTIN (1967), S. 244.

<sup>70</sup> SALL., *Iug.* 9, 3: *Igitur rex, ubi ea, quae fama acceperat, ex litteris imperatoris ita esse cognouit, quom uirtute tum gratia uiri permotus flexit animum suum et Iugurtham beneficiis uincere adgressus est statimque eum adoptauit et testamento pariter cum filiis heredem instituit.* Die Adoption erwähnen auch LIV., *Per.* LXII, 1; FLOR. I, 36, 3. Siehe

adoptiert. Zweifelhaft ist ferner der Nutzen, den Iugurtha angeblich aus dieser Adoption bezüglich seiner Herrschaftsansprüche gezogen haben soll.<sup>71</sup> Daher ist auch die Adoption Iugurthas in einem anderen Licht zu sehen; sie war nämlich weder im Sinne Scipios, der Iugurtha als künftigen Alleinherrscher Numidiens designiert hatte, noch gereichte sie Iugurtha zum Vorteil. Die Adoption bewirkte nämlich gerade nicht Iugurthas Gleichstellung mit seinen beiden Vettern, sondern stellte, so Saumagne,<sup>72</sup> vielmehr diese mit dem Kronprinzen Iugurtha rechtlich gleich, weswegen in Wahrheit Adherbal und Hiempsal von dieser Maßnahme profitierten. In diesem Zusammenhang ist auch die Begebenheit des ersten gemeinsamen Beratungstreffens der Micipsa-Nachfolger zu sehen, bei der Hiempsal seinen Mitregenten Iugurtha zu provozieren versuchte (*Iug.* 11). Bei dieser Gelegenheit beantragte Iugurtha, alle Beschlüsse und Verordnungen, die Micipsa in den vergangenen fünf Jahren getätigt hatte, wegen dessen Altersschwäche aufzuheben (*Iug.* 11, 5). Hiempsal soll ihm darauf erwidert haben, dass er deshalb der gleichen Meinung sei, weil in genau diesem Zeitraum Iugurtha durch Adoption ins Herrscherhaus aufgenommen worden sei (*Iug.* 11, 6). An dieser Darstellung ist zu hinterfragen, weswegen Iugurtha überhaupt einen Antrag gestellt haben soll, der ihn nicht nur benachteiligt, sondern seiner Herrschaftslegitimation beraubt hätte. Schlüssiger ist dagegen Saumagnes Beurteilung, der klar ausführt: „Ce qui pouvait lui importer, ce n'était pas l'annulation de son adoption par Micipsa ; cette annulation l'eût rétabli dans sa position de fils légitimé de Mastanabal et de frère aîné de Gauda, c'est-à-dire d'héritier unique selon la coutume berbère.“ Doch auch dieses Ereignis lässt einen Rückschluss auf den Zeitpunkt der Adoption zu. Wenn der geschilderte Disput zwischen Iugurtha und Hiempsal einen Sinn ergeben soll, muss Iugurthas Adoption durch Micipsa tatsächlich erst 121 v.Chr. erfolgt sein, also zwölf Jahre nach Scipios „Empfehlungsschreiben“. Außerdem wäre zu fragen, ob Scipio mit dieser Maßnahme Micipsas einverstanden gewesen wäre. Offenbar bestand zwischen dem Numiderkönig und seinem römischen Patron ein unausgesprochener Dissens bezüglich der Sukzession. Während (abgesehen von der

dazu auch RITTER (1987), S. 84-89; DIX (2006), S. 104-105; LÖFFEL (2014), S. 88-90. Die Chronologie dieser Ereignisse ist jedoch umstritten, vgl. EARL (1966), S. 64; SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 107.

<sup>71</sup> Dazu ausführlich SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 103-108 und ihm folgend ILEVARE (1977), S. 47. Zu beachten ist an dieser Stelle allerdings, dass Micipsa sehr wohl noch über andere agnatische Verwandte verfügte: Nämlich über seinen geistig beeinträchtigten Neffen Gauda, den er sogar testamentarisch als Ersatzerben eingesetzt hatte (SALL., *Iug.* 65, 1), sowie über seine Neffen Massiva (Sohn des Gulussa, dazu SALL., *Iug.* 35) und Dabar (Sohn seines Bruders Massugrada, dazu *Iug.* 108, 1). Offenbar konnten alle drei keine Herrschaftsansprüche erheben.

<sup>72</sup> SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 105-107. Daher kann eine diesbezügliche Beurteilung wie von STORM (2001), S. 88-89, welche in Adherbal und Hiempsal Iugurthas „legitime Mitherrscher“ sieht, die er „skrupellos aus dem Wege räumen ließ“, nicht länger überzeugen, auch wenn sie bei EUTR. IV, 26, 1 als *reges populi Romani amici* galten.



numidischen Thronfolgepraxis) Scipio Iugurtha als künftigen König bestätigt und anerkannt hat, wollte Micipsa dem entgegen autonom seine Nachfolge festlegen und die Königsherrschaft auf seine beiden Söhne (zumindest als künftige Mitregenten Iugurthas) übertragen. Da er solche Scipios Anordnung widerstrebende Nachfolgeverfügungen wahrscheinlich nicht zu dessen Lebzeiten hätte ausführen können, ist anzunehmen, dass die Adoption erst nach 129 v.Chr. vorgenommen wurde. Anders ausgedrückt: Scipios Tod ermöglichte Micipsa plötzlich ungeahnte Gestaltungsfreiheit bezüglich seiner Thronfolge. Iugurtha dagegen konnte nun in Ermangelung eines mächtigen Patrons in Rom, der seine Herrschaftsansprüche zusätzlich absicherte, gegen die Bestrebungen seines Onkels wenig ausrichten und musste sich fügen.

Bemerkenswert sind in diesem Zusammenhang Micipsas politische Bemühungen, in Rom einen neuen Fürsprecher für sich zu gewinnen.<sup>73</sup> Was bei Plutarch (*C.Gr.* 2, 4f.) nur als Randnotiz in der Biographie des C. Gracchus erscheint, ist in seiner hochpolitischen Wesensart nicht zu unterschätzen. Richtigerweise sieht Löffl die erwähnte beabsichtigte Getreidelieferung sich „auf dem Niveau einer patronus-cliens-Beziehung“ abspielen.<sup>74</sup> Nicht überzeugen kann jedoch seine weitere Kontextualisierung dieses Ereignisses: Ging es Micipsa tatsächlich darum, C. Gracchus als Enkel des Scipio Africanus zu unterstützen?<sup>75</sup> Wohl kaum, denn bei C. Gracchus handelte es sich lediglich um einen kognatischen Abkömmling (*nepos ex filia*) des älteren Africanus, der außerdem in politischer Feindschaft zu Scipio Aemilianus, dem Adoptivonkel und Rechtsnachfolger des Scipio Africanus, stand.<sup>76</sup> Micipsa versuchte also nur drei Jahre nach dem Tod des Scipio Aemilianus ganz gezielt, einen von Scipios größten innenpolitischen Widersachern zu unterstützen. In diesem Zusammenhang wirft Löffl eine interessante Frage auf: „Wußte Micipsa, dass er durch

<sup>73</sup> Aufschlussreich dazu ist PLUT., *C.Gr.* 2, 4-5: ταῦτα πάλιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπαγγελλόμενα καὶ δοκοῦντα δημαγωγίας προάγωνες εἶναι, διετάραττε τὴν βουλὴν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης παρὰ Μικίψα τοῦ βασιλέως πρέσβεις παραγενομένους, καὶ λέγοντας ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς χάριτι Γαίου Γράγχου πέμψειν εἰς Σαρδόνια σῖτον τῷ στρατηγῷ, δυσχεραίνοντες ἐξέβαλον. Übersetzung des Verfassers: „Dies wurde wiederum nach Rom gemeldet und es schien Förderung der Demagogie zu sein; das brachte den Senat in große Verwirrung. Zunächst trafen aus Afrika Gesandte von König Micipsa ein und erklärten, dass der König aus Wohlwollen für C. Gracchus für den Oberkommandierenden Getreide nach Sardinien schicken wolle. Da dies bei den Senatoren Unwillen erregte, verwiesen sie die Gesandtschaft aus Rom.“

<sup>74</sup> LÖFFL (2014), S. 133.

<sup>75</sup> LÖFFL (2014), S. 132-133.

<sup>76</sup> Zum Verhältnis zwischen Scipio Aemilianus und C. Gracchus, insbesondere zu den zwischen den beiden bestehenden signifikanten politischen Differenzen siehe SCHIETTINGER (2014), S. 176-182. Man bedenke ferner, dass C. Gracchus sogar vorgeworfen wurde, seinen Vetter und Schwager Aemilianus ermordet zu haben: Dazu APP., *ciu.* I, 20 (83); PLIN., *nat. hist.* 10, 123; PLUT., *C. Gr.* 10, 4-5; CIC., *Mil.* 16; LIV., *Per.* LIX, 17-18; OROS. V, 10, 10; VELL. II, 4, 6. Ebenso SIGISMUND (2008), S. 100-106; WERNER (1969), S. 416; HARDERS (2008), S. 135.



diese Handlungsweise [die beabsichtigte Unterstützung des C. Gracchus] Gefahr lief, sich weite Teile der Nobilität zu Feinden zu machen?“<sup>77</sup> Setzte sich Micipsa also der Gefahr eines diplomatischen Bruchs mit der Mehrheit der Senatoren aus?<sup>78</sup> Mitnichten, denn nach Scipios Tod schien sich Micipsa selbstständig intensiv um einen neuen mächtigen Patron in Rom zu bemühen. Zwar war C. Gracchus 126 v.Chr. erst Quästor, doch hatte er schon allein wegen seiner eindrucksvollen *commendatio maiorum* als alteingesessener plebejischer *nobilis* eine seinem Vater ebenbürtige Karriere zu erwarten, der seinerzeit einer der mächtigsten Männer Roms gewesen war. Zudem wies C. Gracchus in der Ackerkommission mächtige *amici*, wie C. Papirius Carbo und M. Fulvius Flaccus auf. Micipsa hatte bei der Auswahl eines römischen *patronus* gewissermaßen die Seiten gewechselt, indem er sich künftigen einflussreichen konsularischen Senatoren aus den Reihen der Ackerkommission zuwandte. Diese fast schon ungehörige Eigenmächtigkeit des machtpolitisch von Rom abhängigen Numiderkönigs verstörte verständlicherweise die Mehrheit des Senats; noch mehr dagegen muss sie jedoch den Erben des Aemilianus, zu dessen auswärtigen *amici* das numidische Königshaus nun gehörte, beunruhigt haben. In genau diesen Zusammenhang passt eine weitere ähnliche Begebenheit aus dem Jahr 121 v.Chr., nämlich die militärische Unterstützung des Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos. 122 v.Chr.) durch die Bereitstellung numidischer Kriegselefanten.<sup>79</sup> Bemerkenswert ist hierbei, dass sich Micipsa offenbar gleich nach der Ermordung des C. Gracchus (seines *patronus in spe*) um einen neuen einflussreichen Gönner und Schutzherrn in Rom bemühte. Die Domitii Ahenobarbi hätten als arrivierte wie mächtige plebejische Nobilitätsfamilie<sup>80</sup> aus Micipsas Perspektive gewiss eine vorzügliche Wahl als *patroni* dargestellt. Auf Ahenobarbus' Verhältnis zu Scipios Erben und Rechtsnachfolger wird an späterer Stelle noch eingegangen.

Im Gegensatz zu seinem Vater Massinissa konnte Micipsa ein Testament abfassen, durch das er seine Nachfolge offenbar von Rom autonom regeln konnte.<sup>81</sup> So gelang es ihm, seine beiden Söhne, die gemäß der numidischen

<sup>77</sup> LÖFFL (2014), S. 133.

<sup>78</sup> LÖFFL (2014), S. 133.

<sup>79</sup> So zumindest GSELL (1928), S. 137-138, zitiert nach LÖFFL (2014), S. 133, Anm. 909. Der Einsatz von Kriegselefanten durch Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus im Kampf gegen die Gallierstämme ist bezeugt bei FLOR. I, 37, 5; OROS. V, 13, 2; SUET., *Nero* 2, 1. Dazu auch EBEL (1976), S. 71, 74; ZECCHINI (2009), S. 75-76. Die numidischen Hilfstruppenkontingente enthielten oft einen Anteil an Kriegselefanten, siehe dazu RITTER (1987), S. 59-60; WALSH (1965), S. 158-159. Kriegselefanten gehörten auch zu den Kontributionen, die Iugurtha im mit Calpurnius Bestia abgeschlossenen Präliminarfrieden auferlegt wurden (SALL., *Iug.* 29, 6).

<sup>80</sup> Zur Beurteilung der Domitii Ahenobarbi siehe VELL. II, 10, 2; 11, 3; SUET., *Nero* 1-2. Dazu auch CARLSEN (2006).

<sup>81</sup> Dazu SALL., *Iug.* 9, 3; 65, 1. Siehe auch SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 129-131; RITTER (1987), S. 86; LÖFFL (2014), S. 90. Zur möglichen Beteiligung Roms an der Erbfolge-regelung siehe TIMPE (1962), S. 348-349.

Thronfolgeregelung eigentlich keine legitimen Sukzessionsansprüche geltend machen konnten, in einer Dreierherrschaft mit Iugurtha am Königtum zu beteiligen. Dabei konnte er sich sogar auf den von seinem *patronus* Scipio 148 v.Chr. geschaffenen Präzedenzfall berufen, den er nun zu seinen Gunsten umkehrte.<sup>82</sup> In diesem Zusammenhang ist die Frage nach einer möglichen Einflussnahme des römischen Senats noch nicht restlos geklärt: Timpe geht zwar davon aus, dass es eine römische Intervention bei der numidischen Sukzessionsfrage gab, sieht jedoch die Römische Republik keineswegs als eine Art Garantiemacht der numidischen Herrschaftsverhältnisse.<sup>83</sup> Ohnehin, das zeigt das Beispiel der von Scipio vorgenommenen Nachfolgeregelung des Massinissa, spielten sich diese Zusammenhänge nicht auf der ‚diplomatisch-staatsrechtlichen Ebene‘, sondern vielmehr auf der persönlichen Ebene einer *amicitia* ab. Ältere und neuere Forschungen aber lassen genau diesen Beziehungsaspekt außer Acht: Denn im Gegensatz zur Herrschaftsaufteilung nach Massinissas Tod, die Scipio gewissermaßen als Patron Numidiens vorgenommen hatte, fehlte nach Scipios Tod auf römischer Seite ein klar identifizierbarer Patron Numidiens, dessen Person gewissermaßen die Garantie der verfügbaren Nachfolgeordnung darstellte.<sup>84</sup> Auffälligerweise erfahren wir aus den zur Verfügung stehenden Quellen nichts davon, dass der Erbe und Rechtsnachfolger des Scipio Aemilianus in dieser ihn als Patron Numidiens betreffenden wichtigen außenpolitischen Angelegenheit aktiv geworden ist. Dafür soll angeblich M. Porcius Cato<sup>85</sup> in seiner Eigenschaft als Konsul des Jahres 118 v.Chr. die Nachfolge Micipsas geregelt haben: Diese Vermutung, der die Forschung offenbar einträchtig folgt,<sup>86</sup> ergibt sich aus einer Passage bei Gellius:<sup>87</sup> *Is [M. Cato M. filius M. nepos] satis uehemens orator fuit multasque orationes ad exemplum aui scriptas reliquit et consul cum Q. Marcio Rege fuit inque eo consulatu in Africam profectus in ea prouincia mortem obit.* Bei genauer Betrachtung dieser Belegstelle muss man rasch eingestehen, dass sie keinerlei Hinweis auf eine wie auch immer geartete Tätigkeit Catos in Numidien liefert. Man erfährt nur, dass er sich in die Provinz *Africa*, nicht aber in das formell souveräne numidische Königreich, das eben nicht Teil der römischen Provinz war, begeben habe und dort verstorben sei.

<sup>82</sup> SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 102, Anm. 97-98; LÖFFL (2014), S. 83, 88-90.

<sup>83</sup> TIMPE (1962), S. 348-349.

<sup>84</sup> So bereits LÖFFL (2014), S. 89.

<sup>85</sup> Zu Leben und Karriere des M. Porcius Cato (cos. 118 v.Chr.) siehe MILTNER (1953b). Ob er genau wie sein Bruder C. Porcius Cato (cos. 114 v.Chr.), siehe MILTNER (1953a) auch ein kognatischer Neffe des Scipio Aemilianus war (VELL. II, 8, 1), lässt sich nicht sicher feststellen.

<sup>86</sup> Siehe MILTNER (1953b); TIMPE (1962), S. 348, Anm. 3; SAUMAGNE (1966), S. 129-131, 141-143; RITTER (1987), S. 88-89; LÖFFL (2014), S. 88-90.

<sup>87</sup> GELL. XIII, 20, 10 (Übersetzung des Verfassers): „Er war ein ziemlich energischer Redner und viele seiner Reden hat er gemäß dem Vorbild seines Großvaters in Schriftform hinterlassen, und als er mit Q. Marcus Rex Konsul war, begab er sich während dieses Konsulats in die Provinz Afrika, wo ihn der Tod ereilte.“

Erstaunlich wäre ohnehin, wenn man den diesbezüglichen Konjekturen der älteren und modernen Forschung folgt, dass Gellius zwar eine Reise des Konsuls in die afrikanische Provinz, deren eigentlicher Anlass unerwähnt bleibt, anspricht, jedoch das viel wichtigere außenpolitische Ereignis, nämlich die Regelung von Micipsas Thronfolge, gänzlich außen vor lässt.<sup>88</sup> Dies verstellt außerdem den klaren Blick auf die Frage, wer spätestens ab 118 v.Chr. auf römischer Seite die Patronage über Numidien ausübte: Hatte das früher stets die *domus Africani* getan, so muss festgehalten werden, dass hier nach 129 v.Chr. ein Kontinuitätsbruch stattfand. Obwohl Scipio Aemilianus, wie der nächste Abschnitt zeigen wird, einen Rechtsnachfolger bestimmt hatte, der auch die Patronage über Numidien als Scipios Erbe hätte übernehmen können, tritt jener in dieser Eigenschaft (zumindest in den zur Verfügung stehenden Quellen) nicht auf. Vielmehr muss sogar spätestens ab der zweiten numidischen Herrschaftsteilung 118 v.Chr., die im Gegensatz zur ersten von 148 v.Chr. zu einer territorialen Aufteilung Numidiens führte, ganz offenbar auch eine Aufteilung der numidischen Klientel unter verschiedenen, namentlich unbekannten römischen *patroni* erfolgt sein. Es ist nämlich schwer vorstellbar, dass die drei Erben des Micipsa, die sogleich wegen Herrschafts- und Thronfolgefragen in heftigen Streit gerieten, über ein und denselben Patron in Rom verfügten. In diesem Fall nämlich hätte dieser in seiner Eigenschaft als Patron Numidiens durch ein entschiedenes Machtwort diesen Thronfolgestreit umgehend schlichtend beilegen müssen. Für den durch Scipios Erbschaft rechtmäßigen alleinigen Patron Numidiens stellte diese Thronfolgeordnung eine Minderung seiner ‚auswärtigen Klientelmacht‘ dar, was wegen des damit verbundenen Verlusts an *auctoritas* einer außenpolitischen Niederlage gleichkam.

Abschließend bleibt anzumerken, dass Micipsa das nach Scipios Tod entstandene Machtvakuum zu seinen Gunsten ausnutzte, indem er sich gezielt um die *amicitia* der innenpolitischen Gegner seines verstorbenen Patrons und dessen Rechtsnachfolgers bemühte. Während sich Iugurtha zur außenpolitischen Absicherung seines Herrschaftsanspruchs auf Scipio Aemilianus bzw. dessen Erben verließ, suchte sein Onkel zielstrebig nach der Gunst der Widersacher Scipios und dessen Nachfolgers. Offenbar, denn anders lassen sich diese Umstände kaum interpretieren, ging es bei Micipsas außenpolitischen Aktivitäten darum, neue Verbündete in Rom zu gewinnen, um seine Sukzessionspolitik abzusichern und durchzusetzen.<sup>89</sup> Zum besseren Verständnis dieses Sachverhalts ist

<sup>88</sup> SALL., *Iug.* 9, 3-12, 2 erwähnt in seinem Traktat der Thronfolge Micipsas keinerlei römischen Einfluss, geschweige denn den Auftritt eines Konsuls der Römischen Republik (weder Cato noch ein anderer) als Erbteiler und Schlichter. Auch EUTR. IV, 23 erwähnt zwar den gemeinsamen Konsulat des M. Porcius Cato und des Q. Marcius Rex, doch Catos Reise nach *Africa* und sein dortiges Ableben spielen dabei keine Rolle.

<sup>89</sup> Sinnigerweise heißt es bei EUTR. IV, 26, 1 über Adherbal und Hiempsal: *quod Adherbalem et Hiempsalem, Micipsae filios, fratres suos, reges et populi Romani amicos*

es unabdingbar, sich ausführlicher mit den Gegebenheiten in Rom, besonders mit der Rechtsnachfolge Scipios, auseinanderzusetzen.

#### 4. Das Erbe des Scipio Aemilianus

Bedeutete das verfrühte Ableben des jüngeren Africanus 129 v.Chr. für Iugurtha etwa, dass ihm fortan ein Patron in Rom fehlte? Mitnichten, denn gerade die „foreign *clientelae*“ bzw. *amicitiae* eines Senators wurden üblicherweise von den Erben fortgeführt,<sup>90</sup> wofür das Verhältnis des numidischen Königshauses mit der *domus Africani* geradezu exemplarisch steht. Nicht nur in der römischen Innenpolitik entstand durch den Tod Scipios, der als Konsular, ehemaliger Zensor und zweifacher Triumphator sowie Senator von außerordentlichem politischen Gewicht als Staatsmann eine Ära geprägt hatte, eine große Lücke;<sup>91</sup> auch als Patron auswärtiger Klienten musste er ersetzt werden. Aus diesem Grund ist die Frage so bedeutend, wer als Haupterbe sowohl die allgemeine Rechtsnachfolge des Scipio Aemilianus antrat als auch seine aristokratische Prominenzrolle<sup>92</sup> als *patronus* übernahm. Die Frage nach Erben und Rechtsnachfolgern ist allerdings in Scipios Fall nicht so einfach zu beantworten, weil er kinderlos verstarb.<sup>93</sup> Sempronia, die aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach mit Scipio in einer gewaltfreien Ehe (*sine manu*) verheiratet war, konnte als nicht-agnatische Verwandte gemäß römischem Intestaterbrecht nicht als Erbin in Betracht kommen.<sup>94</sup> An dieser

[!], *interemisset*. Folglich müssen sie durch einflussreiche Senatoren eine Anerkennung als *amici et socii populi Romani* erlangt haben.

<sup>90</sup> BADIAN (1958), S. 154-167, bes. S. 158-159. Siehe dazu auch COŞKUN (2005). Die regelmäßige Übertragung von *amicitia*-Beziehungen dürfte auch für die von BURTON (2011), S. 3-6 konzipierte „interpersonal and international *amicitia*“ gelten.

<sup>91</sup> Zur Beurteilung der politischen Lebensleistung des Scipio Aemilianus siehe u.a. VELL. II, 4, 2-6. ASTIN (1967), S. 244 veranschaulicht die Bedeutung Scipios treffend.

<sup>92</sup> Zu den aristokratischen Prominenzrollen siehe BECK (2009).

<sup>93</sup> Dazu ASTIN (1967), S. 235-236; ETCHETO (2012), S. 143-146.

<sup>94</sup> Dazu ausführlich und erhellend HEYSE (1994), S. 22-25, 86-106. Zum weiteren Lebensweg der Sempronia siehe VALENTINI (2012), S. 245-247. Auch wenn Valentini (S. 245) die Bedeutung der Sempronia hervorhebt, bleiben gewisse Fragen offen: Als Frau (und auch als Witwe) war sie gemäß römischen Rechtsgepflogenheiten nicht voll geschäftsfähig und stand daher unter der *tutela* eines männlichen agnatischen Verwandten. Zur *tutela mulieris* siehe HARDERS (2008), S. 83-85. Wer diese Rolle nach dem Tod des C. Gracchus innehatte, bleibt unklar. Dass sie eine zweite Ehe eingegangen ist, ist nicht bekannt und wegen ihres fortgeschrittenen Lebensalters auch nicht allzu wahrscheinlich. Dass Sempronia aufgrund der unglücklichen Ehe mit Scipio, vgl. APP., *ciu.* I, 20 (83), als Erbin eingesetzt wurde erscheint nahezu ausgeschlossen. Dafür, dass Scipio seiner Witwe keinesfalls mehr als ihre Mitgift vermacht hat, spricht auch, dass Sempronia nach dem Tod ihres Ehemannes unter die *tutela* ihres Bruders C. Gracchus gekommen wäre. Da C. Gracchus als Gründungsmitglied der Ackerkommission während der letzten Lebensjahre des Aemilianus zu dessen größten innenpolitischen Widersachern gehörte (siehe dazu Anmerkung 76) wäre es für Scipio ein Graus gewesen, seinen Schwager über das Witwenerbe der Sempronia übermäßig begünstigt zu haben.

Stelle kommen gemäß römischem Intestaterbrecht seine nächsten agnatischen Verwandten infrage.<sup>95</sup> Da durch seine Adoption in die *domus Africani* das agnatische Verwandtschaftsverhältnis zu den Abkömmlingen seines leiblichen Vaters L. Aemilius Paullus aufgelöst worden war,<sup>96</sup> handelte es sich bei den übrigen Cornelii Scipiones um seine *proximi agnati* bzw. *sui heredes*. Nicht nur, weil kein einziger Scipio beim Begräbnis des Aemilianus auftrat,<sup>97</sup> sondern auch, weil sich sein Verhältnis zu den übrigen Cornelii Scipiones nicht sonderlich eng und herzlich gestaltet hat,<sup>98</sup> muss davon ausgegangen werden, dass auch sie seine Rechtsnachfolge nicht antraten. In diesem Fall muss Scipio Aemilianus allerdings durch ein Testament seinen Haupterben bestimmt haben.<sup>99</sup> Sehr nahelegend ist in diesem Fall, dass Scipio Aemilianus jemanden aus seiner leiblichen Verwandtschaft, also einen Abkömmling des L. Aemilius Paullus, begünstigen wollte. Nach dem Tod des Paullus, der infolge einer gescheiterten familialen Strategie ohne leibliche Söhne dastand,<sup>100</sup> kam noch Scipios leiblicher Bruder, Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus (cos. 145)<sup>101</sup> infrage. Doch auch dieser kann nicht die Rechtsnachfolge seines Bruders angetreten haben, weil er offenbar noch vor ihm verstorben war.<sup>102</sup> Nicht weniger wahrscheinlich ist es, dass er testamentarisch für den Fall des vorzeitigen Ablebens seines Erben weitere Ersatzerben bestimmt hat. Immerhin verfügte Scipio noch über drei Neffen:<sup>103</sup> Q. Fabius

<sup>95</sup> Zum Erbrecht des *proximus agnatus* siehe HÖLDER (1881), S. 118-128; HEYSE (1994), S. 22.

<sup>96</sup> Zur Auflösung des Agnatenverhältnisses durch Adoption siehe HÖLDER (1881), S. 125. Zum Agnaten wird man also durch Abstammung, Adoption oder *manus*-Ehe, dazu HEYSE (1994), S. 24.

<sup>97</sup> Zur Beerdigung des Scipio Aemilianus siehe APP., *ciu.* I, 20 (85); PLIN., *nat. hist.* 7, 144; VAL. MAX. IV, 1, 12; PLUT., *mor.* 202A.

<sup>98</sup> Für das Verhältnis zur Verwandtschaft der anderen Cornelii Scipiones siehe ASTIN (1967), S. 236. Ausführlich und erhellend zum Beziehungsgeflecht zwischen Aemilii Paulli, Cornelii Scipiones und den Sempronii Gracchi siehe HARDERS (2008), S. 101-137. ETCHETO (2012), S. 143-146 spricht sogar von einer „famille morcelée“ bzw. von einem „esseulement d’Émilien dans la maison des Scipions“, was laut ihm (S. 114) besonders bei Scipios Leichenfeier 129 v.Chr. deutlich wird. Ferner betont ETCHETO (2012), S. 150-151, 155 die fehlende Eintracht unter den verschiedenen Zweigen der Scipiones.

<sup>99</sup> Zum römischen Testament und zur Häufigkeit testamentarischer Nachlassregelung siehe HÖLDER (1881), S. 34-35; HEYSE (1994), S. 45.

<sup>100</sup> Zu L. Aemilius Paullus siehe FLAIG (2010), S. 134-136, 144-146.

<sup>101</sup> Zu Leben und Karriere des Fabius Aemilianus siehe MÜNZER (1909b).

<sup>102</sup> Zu einer solchen Schlussfolgerung gelangt MÜNZER (1909b), Sp. 1794. Dagegen ließe sich zwar einwenden, dass Fabius von seinem leiblichen Bruder enterbt worden wäre; dafür gibt es jedoch keinerlei Anzeichen: Im Gegenteil scheint das Verhältnis der beiden stets sehr gut gewesen zu sein, wofür z.B. spricht, dass ihn Scipio 134 v.Chr. zum Legaten für den Numantia-Feldzug ernannt hat. Siehe dazu MÜNZER (1909b), Sp. 1794; PINA POLO (2001), S. 96. Dafür, dass Fabius Aemilianus zunächst als Haupterbe qua Testament eingesetzt war, spricht sich ETCHETO (2012), S. 144 aus.

<sup>103</sup> Zur Familie, Verwandten und Freunden Scipios siehe ASTIN (1967), S. 12-17, 35-36, 80-96, 315-316; HARDERS (2008), S. 101-137; ETCHETO (2012), S. 143-146.

Maximus (cos. 121), den späteren Allobrogicus und Sohn seines leiblichen Bruders; C. Porcius Cato (cos. 114), den Sohn seiner leiblichen Schwester Aemilia;<sup>104</sup> Q. Aelius Tubero, den Sohn einer weiteren leiblichen Schwester Aemilia.<sup>105</sup> Zu seinem genuin agnatischen Neffen Q. Fabius schien Scipio seit jeher ein sehr gutes Verhältnis gehabt zu haben: Denn als Scipio 134 v.Chr. im Begriff stand, den Keltibererkrieg und die Niederwerfung Numantias zu übernehmen, setzte er sich für die Wahl seines Neffen zum Quästor ein und übernahm ihn als Heeresquästor für den bevorstehenden Feldzug.<sup>106</sup>

Sicher lässt sich der Haupterbe eines *nobilis* dadurch erkennen, dass er die Leichenrede (*laudatio funebris*) auf den Verstorbenen hielt.<sup>107</sup> Beim Begräbnis des Aemilianus spielte neben den vier Söhnen des Q. Metellus Macedonicus, die den Leichnam zu Grabe trugen,<sup>108</sup> Q. Fabius Maximus als Neffe des Toten die zentrale Rolle: Er, der damals neben der Quästur vielleicht auch schon die Ädilität bekleidet hatte, hielt nämlich die von C. Laelius entworfene Leichenrede auf seinen Onkel.<sup>109</sup> Neben der *laudatio funebris* belegt auch der *foris*

<sup>104</sup> Zu C. Porcius Cato siehe MILTNER (1953a). Zur Eheverbindung der Aemilii Paulli mit den Porcii Catones siehe auch FLAIG (2010), S. 135.

<sup>105</sup> Zu Vita und Karriere des Q. Aelius Tubero siehe KLEBS (1893a), Sp. 535-537. FLAIG (2010), S. 135-136 lässt im Hinblick auf die gescheiterten Karrieren der Aelii Tuberoes durchblicken, dass L. Aemilius Paullus hier keine vorteilhafte Heiratsallianz eingegangen ist. Da diese beiden nichtagnatischen Neffen bei Scipios Begräbnis keine Rolle spielten, sind sie zwar als Haupterben auszuschließen, eine testamentarische *legatio* erscheint dagegen sogar wahrscheinlich; denn gegenüber seinen weiblichen Verwandten zeigte Scipio sich in Erbfällen demonstrativ äußerst großzügig; siehe dazu HARDERS (2008), S. 119-123.

<sup>106</sup> VAL. MAX. VIII, 15, 4. Siehe auch APP., *Ib.* 84 (366); MÜNZER (1909c), Sp. 1794-1795; PINA POLO (2001), S. 95-96; BERRENDONNER (2009), S. 12.

<sup>107</sup> VOLLMER (1924), Sp. 992 definiert die *laudatio funebris* auch als „letzte Ehre der gens für ihr Mitglied, geleistet von dem, der nun in Rechte und Pflichten des Verstorbenen eintritt.“ In der Spätzeit der Republik tritt ein *nobilis* durch Abhaltung der Leichenrede auch demonstrativ das „politische Erbe“ des Verstorbenen an, z.B. Caesar mit seiner Rede für seine Tante Julia, Ehefrau des C. Marius, oder M. Antonius mit der Rede für Caesar; siehe dazu MASTROCINQUE (2011).

<sup>108</sup> APP., *ciu.* I, 20 (85); PLIN., *nat. hist.* 7, 144; VAL. MAX. IV, 1, 12; PLUT., *mor.* 202A. Zur Symbolik dieser Szene vgl. ASTIN (1967), S. 244. Gerade das besondere Engagement der erwähnten Caecilii Metelli bei Scipios Begräbnis ist auch als Beleg dafür zu werten, dass Scipio und Macedonicus nach einem Zerwürfnis Anfang der 130er v.Chr. wieder zu einträchtiger *amicitia* zurückgekehrt sind; dazu SCHIETINGER (2014), S. 173-176.

<sup>109</sup> SCHOL. BOB. 16. Siehe auch MÜNZER (1900), Sp. 1460; MÜNZER (1909c). Weitere Belege dafür, dass Q. Fabius Maximus die Rechtsnachfolge seines Onkels Scipio angetreten hat, finden sich bei CIC., *Mur.* 75 (*cum epulum Q. Maximus P. Africani, patrum sui, nomine populo Romano daret*); VAL. MAX. VII, 5, 1 (*Q. Fabio Maximo epulum populo nomine P. Africani patrum sui dante*). Demnach richtete Fabius Maximus die Leichenfeier für seinen Onkel aus; dieses öffentliche Festmahl für das Volk ist möglicherweise im Zusammenhang mit dem Wahlkampf des Fabius, z.B. im Rahmen der Bewerbung um die Ädilität, zu sehen.



*Fabianus* eindeutig, dass Fabius die Rechtsnachfolge seines Onkels angetreten hat, weil er sich auf den Inschriften dieses Siegesdenkmals in dessen Tradition stellt.<sup>110</sup> Durch ein Testament hatte Scipio für seine persönliche Rechtsnachfolge gesorgt, indem er seinen leiblichen Neffen als Erben einsetzte. Neben seiner fehlenden Identifikation mit der *domus Africani*<sup>111</sup> war es sehr wahrscheinlich auch dieser Tatsache geschuldet, dass Scipio keine Vorkehrungen für den Fortbestand der Scipiones Africani traf: Mochte zwar die *domus Africani* ohne Nachkommen dastehen und deswegen aussterben, die Rechtsnachfolge des Scipio Aemilianus selbst war geregelt und abgesichert, indem er einen leiblichen Verwandten begünstigte. Die Linie des L. Aemilius Paullus und die *domus Africani* setzten sich somit in der *gens Fabia Maxima* in Gestalt des Q. Fabius Maximus fort.

##### 5. Leben und Karriere des Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus

Q. Fabius Maximus verfügte als Erbe dreier bedeutender patrizischer *gentes*, der *domus Africani*, der Aemilii Paulli und der Fabii Maximi, über enormes, geradezu neiderregendes sowohl ökonomisches als auch soziales Kapital.<sup>112</sup> Damit aber nicht genug. Neben einem riesigen Vermögen und einer äußerst beeindruckenden Ahnenreihe<sup>113</sup> verfügte er als Patron über ein vielfältiges Beziehungsnetzwerk sowie über weitreichende heimische und auswärtige Klientelverhältnisse.<sup>114</sup> So ist die Annahme gewiss nicht verfehlt, dass er neben den Caecilii Metelli der zu dieser Zeit wohl mächtigste Mann Roms war.

<sup>110</sup> Zum *fornix Fabianus* siehe u.a. CIL I<sup>2</sup> 192. Zur Geschichte dieses Siegesdenkmals der Fabier siehe MÜNZER (1909a), Sp. 1791-1792; COARELLI (1985), S. 171-180; HÖLKESKAMP (2018), S. 731-733. Zur politisch-propagandistischen Funktion dieses Triumphbogens siehe BERRENDONNER (2009), S. 15; zuletzt HÖLKESKAMP (2018), S. 732-733, der darin einerseits ein Gegenstück zum *fornix Scipionis* des älteren Scipio Africanus sieht und andererseits aufzeigt, wie Fabius Allobrogicus durch dieses Monument das ‚symbolische Kapital‘ seiner Vorfahren, nicht nur aus der *gens Fabia*, sondern auch der Aemilii Paulli und Cornelii Scipiones, für sich aktiviert.

<sup>111</sup> Dazu ASTIN (1967), S. 236; ETCHETO (2012), S. 143-146.

<sup>112</sup> Zum sozialen bzw. symbolischen Kapital gerade auch als *commendatio maiorum* siehe BECK (2005), S. 14-18, 147-154; HÖLKESKAMP (2004), S. 208; (2006), S. 384-396; (2011), S. 206.

<sup>113</sup> Auf diese verweist er im *fornix Fabianus*, dazu MÜNZER (1909c), Sp. 1796; COARELLI (1985), S. 179, BERRENDONNER (2009), S. 15; HÖLKESKAMP (2018), S. 731-733. Auch der unmittelbaren Nachwelt war dies bewusst, wie CIC., *Vatin.* 28; LIV., *Per.* LXI; VELL. II, 10, 2; 39, 1 zeigen. Selbst die Nachkommen des Fabius Maximus (cos. 45) im frühen Prinzipat übernahmen sinnigerweise die *cognomina Paullus* und *Africanus* als *praenomina*, was FARNEY (2013), S. 2615 hervorhebt. Zur Bedeutung dieser Ahnenreihen im Allgemeinen FLOWER (1996).

<sup>114</sup> Um allein die auswärtige Klientel des Q. Fabius Maximus als Machtfaktor deuten zu können, lohnt sich der Vergleich mit seinem Onkel Scipio Aemilianus, dessen beeindruckende „*foreign clientelae*“ LÖFFL (2014), S. 73 veranschaulicht: „Kein anderer nobilis seiner Zeit war in der Lage, aus einer derart umfassenden clientela zu schöpfen



So gesehen hatte Q. Fabius alle Voraussetzungen für eine glanzvolle Muster- oder gar Ausnahmekarriere, die der des Scipio Aemilianus entsprochen hätte. Doch bei einem nur oberflächlichen Blick auf den *cursus honorum* dieses Fabiers stellt man fest, dass er seinen Karrierezenit bereits 120 v.Chr. erreichte: Auf die Bekleidung des Konsulats im Jahr 121 v.Chr. und den darauffolgenden Triumph über die gallischen Allobroger folgte nichts mehr.<sup>115</sup> Eigentlich wäre es angesichts dieser Erfolgsbilanz unangemessen, Fabius als Verlierer darzustellen; denn immerhin gehörte er zu den „konsularischen Siegertypen“<sup>116</sup> innerhalb der Senatsaristokratie und erhielt die keineswegs alltägliche Ehre eines Triumphes und eines Siegesbeinamen zugesprochen.<sup>117</sup> Da es sich jedoch bei Fabius um keinen gewöhnlichen *nobilis* oder gar um einen *homo novus* handelte (für diese wäre eine solche Leistungsbilanz in der Tat ein beeindruckender Erfolg gewesen), müssen an ihn andere Maßstäbe angelegt werden: Bedenkt man, dass sich unter seinen Vorfahren Männer wie Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus Cunctator, P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, L. Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus und P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus befinden, dann sind ein Konsulat und ein Triumph über einen transalpinen Gallierstamm vergleichsweise wenig und angesichts seiner äußerst günstigen Karrierevoraussetzungen lediglich das absolute Minimum.<sup>118</sup> Das wird auch daran deutlich, welche Ämter und

wie Scipio Aemilianus.“ Nach einem Verweis auf seine Verwandtschaft (Vater: L. Aemilius Paullus, Bruder: Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus und Adoptivgroßvater: Scipio Africanus) folgert Löffel: „In ihm bündelte sich die Macht des römischen Hochadels, was sich wiederum in einer Vielzahl von Freundschafts-, Schutz- und Klientelverhältnissen manifestierte.“ Dabei verweist er besonders auf Scipios Klienten: Antiochos VII. von Syrien, Attalos III. von Pergamon und Micipsa von Numidien. Als Scipios Haupterbe trat Fabius auch die Rechtsnachfolge als Patron dieser auswärtigen Klienten an, so dass er, der zudem noch die Patronage über die Klienten der eigenen *gens Fabia Maxima* innehatte, mindestens über dieselbe Machtfülle verfügte wie sein Onkel.

<sup>115</sup> Dazu MÜNZER (1909c), Sp. 1795-1796. Ferner lässt sich erkennen, dass Fabius keine Musterkarriere *suo anno* hinlegte, denn: Nach seiner Quästur 134 v.Chr. hätte er, dem als Patrizier der Volkstribunat versperrt war, spätestens 130 v.Chr. die kurulische Ädilität bekleiden können; das wiederum hätte ihm die Wahl zum Prätor für 127 v.Chr. ermöglicht, so dass er bereits 124 v.Chr. den Konsulat hätte bekleiden können. Dass Fabius jedoch erst für 121 v.Chr. zum Konsul gewählt worden ist, offenbart, dass seine Karriere durch Verzögerungen und Wahlniederlagen (wahrscheinlich gerade bei den Konsulwahlen) gekennzeichnet gewesen sein muss. Zu den Karrierestationen des Fabius Allobrogicus siehe MÜNZER (1909c), Sp. 1794-1795; BRENNAN (2000), S. 180-181.

<sup>116</sup> Zu diesem Begriff siehe BECK (2005), S. 9: „Wer es danach, Anfang vierzig, ins Konsulat schaffte, war ein Siegertyp. Immerhin hatten die Inhaber dieses höchsten Amtes (*maximus* oder *summus honos*) in ihrer Karriere mindestens vier oder fünf Wahlen in – übrigens ganz verschiedenen – Versammlungen des römischen Volkes gewonnen und mit jedem einzelnen dieser Wahlsiege den Rang ihres Ansehens (*gradus dignitatis*) weiter erhöht.“

<sup>117</sup> Dazu MÜNZER (1909c), Sp. 1795. Siehe auch: AMM. XV, 12, 5; VELL. II, 10, 2; 39, 1.

<sup>118</sup> So stellt BECK (2005), S. 152 klar, „daß das Konsulat in einem speziellen Segment der Aristokratie von einer Generation auf die jeweils nächste übertragbar war und auch tatsächlich übertragen wurde. Für junge Männer dieses Adelssegments war das Konsulat

Ehren Fabius nicht erreicht hat: nämlich die Zensur und die Ehrenstellung des *princeps senatus*.<sup>119</sup> Angesichts seiner exzellenten Karriereperspektiven ist das ein auffallender Befund, der die Frage nach den Ursachen des relativen Scheiterns dieses Fabiers aufwirft.

Q. Fabius begann seine politische Laufbahn unter der Protektion seines leiblichen Onkels Scipio Aemilianus als dessen Heeresquästor bei der Niederwerfung Numantias.<sup>120</sup> Seine weitere Karriere bis zu seiner Konsulwahl für das Jahr 121 v.Chr. lässt sich lediglich errahnen.<sup>121</sup> Sein Konsulat brachte ihm das Oberkommando über den Krieg gegen die Arverner und Allobroger in der *Gallia Transalpina* ein, so dass er zum Zeitpunkt der Eskalation des innenpolitischen Kampfes gegen C. Gracchus bereits nicht mehr in Rom weilte.<sup>122</sup> Allerdings traf Fabius in der *Gallia Transalpina* auf seinen Amtsvorgänger Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus,<sup>123</sup> der dort als Prokonsul weiterhin amtierte und mit dem er sich fortan zu arrangieren hatte.<sup>124</sup> Obwohl Ahenobarbus bereits erste Erfolge gegen die Gallier errungen hatte und sein Kommando verlängert worden war,<sup>125</sup> musste er sich bei seiner weiteren Kriegsführung in der *Gallia Transalpina* dem nun als Konsul amtierenden Q. Fabius Maximus unterordnen.<sup>126</sup> Unter solchen

eine relativ sichere Sache.“ Das gilt selbstverständlich gerade und ganz besonders für den Patrizier und Hocharistokraten Fabius Allobrogicus. Zur karrierefördernden Wirkung des symbolischen Kapitals bzw. der *commendatio maiorum* siehe BECK (2005), S. 14-18, 147-154.

<sup>119</sup> Aufschlussreich ist hierbei der Karrierevergleich mit seinen berühmten Vorfahren: Fabius Maximus Cunctator war mehrfacher Konsular, Zensor, Diktator und *princeps senatus*. Der ältere Scipio Africanus war zweifacher Konsular, Zensor und *princeps senatus*. L. Aemilius Paullus war zweifacher Konsular und Zensor; ebenso wie Scipio Aemilianus. Angesichts dessen wird klar, dass Q. Fabius, der weder die Zensur noch sonst eine Ehrenwürde bekleidete, sein Karrierepotential keineswegs voll auszuschöpfen vermocht hat.

<sup>120</sup> Siehe Anmerkung 106.

<sup>121</sup> MÜNZER (1909c), Sp. 1795 sieht in Bezug auf PLUT., *C.Gr.* 6, 2 eine Gegnerschaft zu C. Gracchus: Ebenso vermutet er Fabius als Prätor für das Jahr 124 v.Chr. sowie daraufhin als Statthalter einer der beiden spanischen Provinzen. Siehe hierzu ausführlich BRENNAN (2000), S. 180-181: Der Fabius bei PLUT., *C.Gr.* 6, 2, der wahrscheinlich identisch mit dem späteren Allobrogicus ist, wurde durch den Volkstribun C. Gracchus im Senat beschuldigt, durch seine Getreideeintreibungen die betreffende hispanische Provinz übermäßig ausgebeutet zu haben.

<sup>122</sup> MÜNZER (1909c), Sp. 1795.

<sup>123</sup> Zur Vita und Karriere des Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos. 122) siehe MÜNZER (1905); CARLSEN (2006), S. 36-42.

<sup>124</sup> Dazu MÜNZER (1905), Sp. 1321-1322; (1909c), Sp. 1795; SORICELLI (1995), S. 34, 40; CARLSEN (2006), S. 38-39; ZECCHINI (2009), S. 73-78. Zur Kommandohierarchie innerhalb einer *provincia permixta* und zum Vorrang der Konsuln gegenüber Prokonsuln siehe ausführlich VERVAET (2014), S. 151-157, 198-213.

<sup>125</sup> CIC., *Font.* 36; FLOR. I, 37, 3-6; LIV., *Per.* LXI; OROS. V, 13, 2; SUET., *Nero* 2, 1; VAL. MAX. IX, 6, 3; VELL. II, 10, 2; 39, 1. Dazu auch MÜNZER (1905), Sp. 1322-1323; SORICELLI (1995), S. 34-42; CARLSEN (2006), S. 38-39; ZECCHINI (2009), S. 73-77.

<sup>126</sup> Vgl. VERVAET (2014), S. 151-157, 193-213, 298: Als Konsul in einer gemeinsamen *provincia permixta* war Fabius dem Prokonsul Ahenobarbus vorgesetzt.

Voraussetzungen konnte Domitius Ahenobarbus in Fabius Maximus nur einen lästigen Konkurrenten hinsichtlich des in Gallien zu erwartenden Siegesruhmes sehen. So ist es auch nicht verwunderlich, dass es zwischen diesen beiden *nobiles* zu Rivalität in Form von *invidia* und *inimicitia* kommen konnte.<sup>127</sup> Diese zeigte sich ganz besonders, als der Arvernerkönig Bituitus dem Konsul Q. Fabius die Kapitulation sowohl der Arverner als auch der Allobroger antrug. Dass nicht er als Prokonsul, sondern sein Nachfolger die Kapitulation der Gallier entgegennahm, erzürnte Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.<sup>128</sup> Das hatte zur Folge, dass Fabius Maximus die eigentlichen Siegeslorbeeren auf dem gallischen Kriegsschauplatz für sich beanspruchen konnte.<sup>129</sup> So ist es keineswegs verwunderlich, dass Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus fortan ziemlich schlecht auf seinen Rivalen Fabius Maximus zu sprechen war.<sup>130</sup>

Die Rivalität zwischen Fabius Maximus und Domitius Ahenobarbus beschränkte sich nicht nur auf einen Wettstreit um Siegeslorbeeren und Triumphe, sondern dehnte sich auch auf die auswärtige Klientel aus: Obwohl Fabius Maximus als Bezwiner und später als Patron der Allobroger galt,<sup>131</sup> ließ Domitius Ahenobarbus nichts unversucht, um seine gallische Klientel zu erweitern.<sup>132</sup> Möglicherweise ging es dabei nicht allein um den Ehrevorrang, als Bezwiner der Gallier zu gelten, sondern um eine Art Machtgleichgewicht innerhalb des

<sup>127</sup> Dazu VAL. MAX. IX, 6, 3. Siehe auch EBEL (1976), S. 71-74; SORICELLI (1995), S. 34-42; CARLSEN (2006), S. 38-39; BERRENDONNER (2009), S. 13; ZECCHINI (2009), S. 75-77.

<sup>128</sup> VAL. MAX. IX, 6, 3. Dazu auch LIV., *Per.* LXI.

<sup>129</sup> Dazu AMM. XV, 12, 5; CAES., *BG.* I, 45, 2; VELL. II, 10, 2; 39, 1. Nach STRAB. IV, 1, 11 weihte Fabius mit der Kriegsbeute je einen Tempel für Mars und Herkules. In einer *provincia permixta* konnte nur der Konsul als Inhaber des *summum imperium* einen Triumph für sich beanspruchen, dazu auch MÜNZER (1909c), Sp. 1795; SORICELLI (1995), S. 35, 40; grundlegend VERVAET (2014), S. 161-162, 213, 294-298. Aus demselben Grund nahm Fabius auch die Kapitulation der Arverner und Allobroger entgegen, vgl. VAL. MAX. IX, 6, 3; LIV., *Per.* LXI. Zu den alleinigen Erfolgen des Q. Fabius Maximus siehe AMM. XV, 12, 5; APP., *Celt.* 12, 2; STRAB. IV, 1, 11. Zur Leistung des Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus siehe OROS. V, 13, 2; SUET., *Nero* 2, 1. Einen gleichen Anteil für Domitius Ahenobarbus am Verdienst der Bezwingung der Gallier schreiben ihm LIV., *Per.* LXI; FLOR. I, 37, 6; CIC., *Font.* 36; VELL. II, 10, 2; 39, 1 zu. Dennoch erhielt nur Q. Fabius Maximus, so MÜNZER (1909c), Sp. 1795 einen Triumph und einen Siegesbeinamen zugesprochen. Einen Anscheinstriumph feierte Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus laut SUET., *Nero* 2, 1: *at in consulatu Allobrogibus Aruernisque superatis elephanto per provinciam uectus est turba militum quasi inter sollemnia triumphi prosequente*. Dazu auch EBEL (1976), S. 72-74; SORICELLI (1995), S. 35-41. Zu bedenken ist, dass der Gallierkrieg ab 122 v. Chr. für Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus eine einmalige Gelegenheit war, zu der besonderen Ehre eines Triumphes zu kommen, von der eine enorme Steigerung seines Sozialprestiges abhing, siehe dazu auch BECK (2011), S. 95-96.

<sup>130</sup> So CARLSEN (2006), S. 38-39; SORICELLI (1995), S. 37-40; ZECCHINI (2009), S. 75-76.

<sup>131</sup> Dazu AMM. XV, 12, 6; CIC., *Font.* 36; LIV., *Per.* LXI. Siehe auch EBEL (1976), S. 73; BERRENDONNER (2009), S. 13-14; COŞKUN (2005), S. 426.

<sup>132</sup> SORICELLI (1995), S. 40-42; CARLSEN (2006), S. 40; ZECCHINI (2009), S. 76.

Senatorenstandes: Vergegenwärtigt man sich die schiere Anzahl auswärtiger Klienten, die Q. Fabius Maximus schon allein als Erbe der Aemilii Paulli, der Cornelii Scipiones und der Fabii Maximii auf sich verpflichtet hatte, so war es unter dem Gesichtspunkt der aristokratischen Gleichheit nur schwer zu ertragen, dass ein ohnehin schon an auswärtiger Klientel übermächtiger Senator nun auch noch zum Patron der Allobroger wurde.<sup>133</sup> Allein durch seine vielfältigen und weitverzweigten Klientelbeziehungen drohte Fabius Maximus die römische Außenpolitik, die immerhin dem Senat als Gremium oblag, in fast schon monarchischer Art zu monopolisieren. Noch nicht einmal zehn Jahre nach dem Tod des Scipio Aemilianus schickte sich sein leiblicher Neffe und Erbe dazu an, eine ähnliche oder gar noch größere politische Ausnahmestellung zu erlangen. Schon allein aus diesem Grund erscheinen strikte Gegenmaßnahmen zur Machtbeschränkung dieses Ausreißers von Seiten der senatorischen Standesgenossen unumgänglich gewesen zu sein. Dass es offenbar genau dazu gekommen ist, lässt die weitere Karriere des Fabius Maximus vermuten.

Nach dem Konsulat und dem Triumph über die Gallier wäre die nächste folgerichtige Karrierestation für einen Senator von solch außerordentlicher *au-toritas* und *dignitas* die Bekleidung der Zensur gewesen. Die nächste Gelegenheit, um von den *comitia centuriata* in dieses Amt gewählt zu werden, bot sich Fabius Maximus im Jahr 115 v. Chr. In Anbetracht seiner herausragenden *commendatio maiorum*, seines Galliertriumphes und auch seiner außenpolitischen Klientelmacht wäre seine Wahl zum Zensor zu erwarten gewesen. Festzuhalten ist an dieser Stelle allerdings, dass es keinen Beleg für seine Kandidatur für eine der beiden Zensorenstellen des Jahres 115 v. Chr. gibt. Andererseits, auch wenn sich das nicht zweifelsfrei ausschließen lässt, erschiene es äußerst seltsam, wenn Fabius nicht konsequenterweise für das Zensorenamt kandidiert hätte. Wieso hätte er sich die damit verbundene (fast schon obligatorische) Krönung seiner Laufbahn entgehen lassen sollen?<sup>134</sup> Einen möglichen Hinderungsgrund für eine Kandidatur in Form einer Kriegsverletzung lässt Appian errahnen.<sup>135</sup> Sollte Fabius jedoch tatsächlich kandidiert haben, wäre er bei der Zensorenwahl für 115 v. Chr. durchgefallen. Denn gewählt wurden L. Caecilius Metellus Didymus, einer der vier Söhne des Metellus Macedonicus, und ausgerechnet Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.<sup>136</sup> Daran wäre nicht nur bemerkenswert, dass zum

<sup>133</sup> Zur innenpolitischen Machtstellung eines römischen Senators durch auswärtige Klientel siehe Badian (1958), S. 163-167. Dass genau diese außenpolitische Macht eines Senators zur *invidia* seiner Standesgenossen führt, zeigt Badian (1958), S. 166-167 auf.

<sup>134</sup> Natürlich ist auch ein bewusster Verzicht auf das Zensorenamt vorstellbar, man denke nur an das Beispiel des C. Marius aus dem Jahr 97 v. Chr., vgl. Plut., *Marius* 30, 5-6.

<sup>135</sup> App., *Celt.* 12, 2: καὶ μέντοι ἔπραξε πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τραύματος ὑπογυίου, καὶ τὰ τάγματα ἐπὶ ὧν καὶ παραθαρρύνων, καὶ διδάσκων ὅπως τοῖς βαρβάρους πολεμητέον. Dazu auch Münzer (1909c), Sp. 1795-1796. Diese Verwundung schien Fabius jedoch weder kampf- noch führungsunfähig gemacht zu haben. Es ist daher fraglich, ob sie wirklich als Hinderungsgrund für eine Bewerbung um das Zensorenamt ausschlaggebend war.

<sup>136</sup> Siehe Suolahti (1963), S. 417-420.

dritten Mal in der römischen Geschichte zwei Plebejer gleichzeitig als Zensoren amtierten,<sup>137</sup> sondern auch dass ein derart berühmter Patrizier wie Fabius diesen beiden Plebejern in den *comitia centuriata* unterlegen wäre. Aber wie ließe es sich erklären, dass der präsidentive (patrizische) Topfavorit bei der Zensorenwahl beiden (plebejischen) Mitbewerbern unterlegen sein soll? Dazu bietet sich folgende Hypothese an: Nachvollziehbarerweise gönnte die Mehrheit der Senatsaristokratie dem Fabius keine weiteren politischen Erfolge mehr. Bei der Zensorenwahl für 115 v.Chr. hätte er sich mit Metellus Diadematus mit einem mächtigen plebejischen Konkurrenten konfrontiert gesehen, der zudem aufgrund der großartigen Erfolge seiner *gens* in der jüngsten Vergangenheit über eine sehr überzeugende *commendatio maiorum* verfügte. Oberflächlich betrachtet hätten Fabius Maximus und Metellus Diadematus ein unter dem Gesichtspunkt der patrizisch-plebejischen Ständeparität ideales Wahlkampf Bündnis abgegeben, das sich wohl in den *comitia centuriata* durchgesetzt hätte. Doch ein solches Bündnis kam offenbar nicht zustande. Dafür erscheint jedoch ein anderes Wahlbündnis umso wahrscheinlicher, nämlich eines zwischen Metellus Diadematus und Domitius Ahenobarbus, wofür neben dem Wahlausgang auch eine zumindest zeitweise bestehende *amicitia* zwischen den Metellern und den Domitiern spricht.<sup>138</sup> Möglicherweise bevorzugten die senatorischen Standesgenossen, die bei einer Wahl in den *comitia centuriata* besonders einflussreich und stimmungswichtig waren, die Alternative einer plebejischen Doppelzensur, anstatt dem aus ihrer Sicht ohnehin schon viel zu mächtigen Fabius Maximus die Zensorenwürde und einen weiteren Prestigezuwachs zu gewähren. Dies würde entweder eine mögliche *repulsa* des Fabius oder seinen Verzicht auf eine aussichtslose Kandidatur schlüssig erklären.

Ein weiterer Hinweis dafür, dass Fabius Maximus wahrscheinlich von seinen Standesgenossen am weiteren Aufstieg gehindert wurde, ist die Nominierung des *princeps senatus* durch die Zensoren des Jahres 115 v.Chr.: Während die Forschung bislang besonderen Anstoß daran genommen hat, dass Scipio Aemilianus von den Zensoren des Jahres 131 v.Chr. nicht an die Spitze der Senatsliste gestellt wurde,<sup>139</sup> betrachtet sie die merkwürdige, wenn nicht gar wirklich skandalträchtige Ernennung des M. Aemilius Scaurus (cos. 115 v.Chr.)

<sup>137</sup> Erstmals in der römisch-republikanischen Geschichte amtierten 131 v.Chr. mit Q. Pompeius und Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus zwei Plebejer als Zensoren. Dazu Liv., *Per.* LIX, 6; Cic., *fin.* V, 82. Siehe auch SUOLAHTI (1963), S. 402-403. Zum zweiten Mal amtierten 120 v.Chr. mit Q. Caecilius Metellus Balearicus und L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi zwei Plebejer als Zensoren, dazu SUOLAHTI (1963), S. 414-417. Die Abkehr von der patrizisch-plebejischen Ständeparität im Zensorenamt war 115 v.Chr. folglich ein noch frischer Präzedenzfall.

<sup>138</sup> Siehe GELL. XV, 13, 6; XVII, 2, 7, der einen Brief des Metellus Numidicus aus dem Exil an zwei Domitii Ahenobarbi zitiert. Dazu auch SCHOLZ / WALTER (2013), S. 46-48; COARELLI (1991), S. 221-222; CARLSEN (2006), S. 45-46, 135-136.

<sup>139</sup> Siehe dazu die Zusammenfassung bei SCHIETINGER (2014), S. 174, Anm. 62.

erstaunlicherweise weitaus gelassener.<sup>140</sup> Scaurus' Ernennung zum *princeps senatus* stellte nämlich die bislang unerhörteste Abweichung von der bisherigen Ernennungspraxis, nämlich den amtsältesten patrizischen Altensor als *princeps senatus* zu ernennen, dar.<sup>141</sup> Bis 125 v.Chr. wurde stets, wenn auch nicht immer der amtsälteste, so wenigstens ein patrizischer Altensor nominiert.<sup>142</sup> Die damals erste Ausnahme bildete P. Cornelius Lentulus, der lediglich der amtsälteste patrizische Konsular war. 115 v.Chr. ernannten die Zensoren jedoch den gerade gemeinsam mit M. Metellus als Konsul amtierenden Aemilius Scaurus zum *princeps senatus*.<sup>143</sup> Das ist aus zwei Gründen äußerst bemerkenswert: Es bestand überhaupt keine praktische Notwendigkeit, den gerade amtierenden patrizischen Konsul zum *princeps senatus* zu ernennen, weil einige patrizische Konsulare damals noch zur Verfügung standen.<sup>144</sup> Zudem war Scaurus kein typischer Patrizier,<sup>145</sup> der aus einer berühmten und einflussreichen gens

<sup>140</sup> Siehe MEIER (1984), S. 195; MORA (2003), S. 503. SUOLAHTI (1972), S. 215 sieht darin lediglich „political reasons“, ohne diese weiter zu spezifizieren. Ähnlich SHATZMAN (1974), S. 209, der Scaurus' Ernennung zwar als „somewhat unusual“ bezeichnet, sie aber auch sonst nicht zu erklären vermag, zumal er es ausschließt, dass Scaurus durch mächtige Gönner und Förderer zu dieser Ehrenwürde gelangte.

<sup>141</sup> Dazu LIV. XXVII, 11, 9-10: *Senatus lectionem contentio inter censores de principe legendo tenuit. Semproni lectio erat; ceterum Cornelius morem traditum a patribus sequendum aiebat, ut, qui primus censor ex iis, qui uiuerent, fuisset, eum principem legerent*. Daraus folgerten u.a. SUOLAHTI (1972), S. 208-209, 212-213, sowie MEIER (1984), S. 192, dass stets der amtsälteste patrizische Zensorier, der dazu noch den sogenannten *gentes maiores* entstammen musste, zum *princeps senatus* ernannt wurde. Kritischer wird dies von MORA (2003), S. 503 beurteilt.

<sup>142</sup> Dazu SUOLAHTI (1972), S. 215; MEIER (1984), S. 195-196; MORA (2003), S. 502-503.

<sup>143</sup> Dass Scaurus durch die Zensoren des Jahres 115 v.Chr. ernannt wurde, erschließt sich aus SALL., *Iug.* 25, 4. Dazu auch SUOLAHTI (1972), S. 215; SHATZMAN (1974), S. 209-210; MEIER (1984), S. 195-196; MORA (2003), S. 503.

<sup>144</sup> Auf die Existenz der beiden Fabier, Fabius Maximus (cos. 121) und Fabius Eburnus (cos. 116), verweisen SUOLAHTI (1972), S. 215, Anm. 3; MEIER (1984), S. 195, Anm. 38; MORA (2003), S. 503. SHATZMAN (1974), S. 209-210 zählt außerdem weitere mögliche Anwärter auf: L. Valerius Flaccus (cos. 131), Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos. suf. 130) und M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 126). Ebenso infrage kämen zudem auch: Q. Servilius Caepio (cos. 140), L. Cornelius Cinna (cos. 127) und T. Quinctius Flamininus (cos. 123).

<sup>145</sup> Dazu AUCT., *de uir. ill.* 72; ASCON. 23C; CIC., *Mur.* 16; VAL. MAX. IV, 4, 11. Zur Vita und Karriere des M. Aemilius Scaurus siehe KLEBS (1893b); VAN OOTEGHEM (1967), S. 110-123; SHATZMAN (1974); BATES (1986); BRUNT (1988), S. 469-470; BRIZZI (2004), S. 33; SCHIETINGER (2013), S. 216-218. Dem entgegen MEIER (1984), S. 195, der die Rolle und die gesellschaftliche Stellung des M. Aemilius Scaurus im Jahr 115 v.Chr. m.E. nach falsch einschätzt: „Es könnte gut sein, daß man ihn zum ‚Vormann‘ machte, weil man hoffte, daß er dessen Funktion in den schwierig gewordenen Zeiten besonders gut erfüllen konnte. Scaurus, [...], war offenbar eine sehr kräftige, energische, mutige Persönlichkeit, mächtig zudem durch glänzende Verbindungen.“ Das ist insofern falsch, weil Scaurus über diese Machtfülle 115 v.Chr. als Wiederaufsteiger noch gar nicht verfügte. Diese resultiert erst aus seiner in den Folgejahren gewachsenen *auctoritas*. Vergleicht



entstammte, sondern lediglich ein sogenannter *homo paene nouus*.<sup>146</sup> Er war sozusagen ein Wiederaufsteiger, dem der Makel der *ignavia maiorum* anhaftete.<sup>147</sup> Der Wiederaufstieg, den Scaurus bis 115 v.Chr. bewerkstelligte, lässt sich eigentlich nur durch mächtige, einflussreiche Förderer erklären.<sup>148</sup> In diesem Zusammenhang ist es auffällig, dass Scaurus bei der Consulwahl des Jahres 117 v.Chr. gegen seinen patrizischen Mitbewerber Q. Fabius Maximus Eburnus (cos. 116) eine *repulsa* hinnehmen musste.<sup>149</sup> Fabius Eburnus war übrigens der Vetter des Fabius Maximus,<sup>150</sup> so dass die Vermutung nahe liegt, dass Scaurus' Verhältnis zu den Fabiern ohnehin wegen jüngster Wahlkampfivalitäten durch *invidia* und *inimicitia* belastet war.<sup>151</sup> So ist es an dieser Stelle äußerst bezeichnend, dass Fabius Maximus und Fabius Eburnus, welche beide im Vergleich zu Scaurus amtsältere patrizische Konsulare (und damit geeigneter) waren, bei der Nominierung des *princeps senatus* zugunsten des Scaurus übergangen wurden. Scaurus' Ernennung durch die Zensoren lässt sich jedoch nicht nur dadurch erklären, dass man Fabius Maximus von dieser Ehrenwürde fernzuhalten trachtete,<sup>152</sup> sondern auch dadurch, dass er mit den Metellern in *amicitia* verbunden

man Scaurus mit den in Anmerkung 144 genannten Alternativen, geht daraus einwandfrei hervor, dass er, gemessen an *dignitas* und *auctoritas*, objektiv betrachtet der ungeeignetste Kandidat war.

<sup>146</sup> Zur Begriffsdefinition siehe MÄRTIN (2012), S. 78-79. Zu Scaurus und anderen beispielhaften *homines paene noui* vgl. SCHIETINGER (2017), S. 152-157.

<sup>147</sup> Der Begriff *ignavia maiorum* wird von SALL., *Iug.* 95, 3 für Sullas Vorfahren verwendet. Ähnlich beurteilt ASCON. 23C (*nulla uitae industria*) die Ahnherren des M. Aemilius Scaurus. Im Vergleich mit einem genuinen *homo nouus*, der wegen seiner fehlenden *commendatio maiorum* ein völlig unbeschriebenes Blatt war, stand Scaurus wegen seiner *ignavia maiorum* sogar noch schlechter da.

<sup>148</sup> Zusammengefasst dazu SCHIETINGER (2013), S. 216-218. Dagegen SHATZMAN (1974), S. 209-210. CARLSEN (2006), S. 44 wiederum stellt fest, dass „M. Aemilius Scaurus owed his first appointment to the censors in 115 BC.“

<sup>149</sup> Dazu CIC., *Mur.* 36, der Scaurus als Fallbeispiel für eine völlig unerwartete wie überraschende Wahlniederlage anführt und sich fragt, wie es sein konnte, dass ein *homo grauissimus*, ein *ciuis egregius* sowie ein *fortissimus senator* wie Scaurus dem Q. Fabius Maximus Eburnus bei einer Consulwahl unterlag. Dieser Einschätzung folgt PINA POLO (2012), S. 73-74 unkritisch; denn die elativischen Attribute, die Cicero dem Scaurus zuschreibt, trafen auf den Kandidaten, der 117 v.Chr. bei der Consulwahl gegen den Hocharistokraten Fabius Eburnus verlor, noch nicht zu. 117 v.Chr. trat nämlich der *homo paene nouus* Scaurus als Außenseiter gegen einen etablierten, patrizischen *nobilis* an – und verlor folgerichtig.

<sup>150</sup> Zur Vita und Karriere dieses Fabiers siehe MÜNZER (1909d).

<sup>151</sup> Dass die Verwandtschaft eines Kandidaten sich im Wahlkampf sehr engagierte, erfährt man bei Q. CIC., *comm. pet.* 16. Ein praktisches Beispiel dafür ist die Unterstützung des Scipio Aemilianus für seinen Neffen Fabius Maximus bei der Quästorenwahl für 134 v.Chr., dazu VAL. MAX. VIII, 15, 4.

<sup>152</sup> Zu den möglichen patrizischen Alternativen zu den beiden Fabiern und zu Scaurus siehe Anmerkung 144.



war.<sup>153</sup> Weshalb sonst hätte man ausgerechnet ihm als *homo paene novus* einen derartigen Gefallen erweisen sollen? Durch dieses außerordentliche *beneficium* stand nun Scaurus noch tiefer in der Schuld seiner Förderer.<sup>154</sup> Bemerkenswert ist noch, dass Scaurus im numidischen Thronfolgestreit die Herrschaftsansprüche des Adherbal unterstützte (Sall., *Iug.* 15, 3-5). Ob Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus auch als *amicus* des Scaurus gelten kann, lässt sich nicht sicher sagen; wahrscheinlicher ist es dagegen, dass es für den Zensor Ahenobarbus eine enorme Genugtuung gewesen sein muss, seinen Rivalen Q. Fabius Maximus bei der Ernennung des *princeps senatus* einfach zu übergehen und stattdessen einen rangniedrigeren patrizischen Wiederaufsteiger zu bevorzugen. Dieser Umstand zeigt, dass Q. Fabius Maximus in den Jahren vor Beginn des Jugurthinischen Krieges innenpolitisch isoliert und innerhalb der Senatsaristokratie wirksam ausgegrenzt worden ist, weil er schlicht zu viele mächtige Neider und Feinde unter seinen Standesgenossen hatte.<sup>155</sup>

## 6. Fazit

Nachdem Scipio Aemilianus als Schutzherr Numidiens 129 v.Chr. verstorben war, nutzte der Numiderkönig Micipsa dieses Machtvakuum aus, um eine von Scipios Verfügung abweichende Sukzessionspolitik zu betreiben, bei der Iugurtha gegenüber seinen beiden Vettern und späteren Adoptivbrüdern ins Hintertreffen geriet. Auch während der Zeit nach Scipios Tod fehlte Iugurtha in Rom ein einflussreicher Patron, weil Fabius Maximus in dieser Zeit erst die mittleren Ränge des *cursus honorum* absolvierte. Dass Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus während der numidischen Erbteilung nach Micipsas Tod und während des Jugurthinischen Krieges noch am Leben war, gilt als ziemlich sicher.<sup>156</sup> Dass Iugurthas Adoption, durch die er mit seinen späteren Rivalen Adherbal und Hiempsal rechtlich gleichgesetzt wurde, ausgerechnet 121 v.Chr., im Konsulatsjahr des Fabius Maximus, erfolgte, dürfte kein Zufall gewesen sein: Fabius befand sich zu dieser Zeit fernab von der politischen Bühne Roms in der *Gallia Transalpina*, wo er als Feldherr mit der Ausübung eines konsularischen

<sup>153</sup> Dazu zusammengefasst SCHIETINGER (2013), S. 216-218; dem entgegen SHATZMAN (1974).

<sup>154</sup> Zu diesen Gesichtspunkten, nämlich *amicitia*, *beneficium* und dadurch erzeugtes *officium*, siehe ausführlich ROLLINGER (2014), bes. S. 412-434.

<sup>155</sup> Das Schicksal des Fabius Maximus ist vergleichbar mit dem des T. Quinctius Flamininus, der wegen seiner Ausnahmekarriere und seiner militärischen Erfolge im hellenistischen Osten von seinen senatorischen Standesgenossen wirksam ausgegrenzt und innenpolitisch isoliert worden ist; siehe dazu ausführlich PFEILSCHIFTER (2005), S. 365-387. Ähnlichkeiten bestehen auch mit dem politischen Ende des älteren Scipio Africanus, der in den 190ern und 180ern v.Chr. in der römischen Innenpolitik ausgebootet wurde, bis er dann 184 v.Chr. verbittert der Politik den Rücken kehrte; siehe hierzu die Zusammenfassung von BECK (2019), S. 45-49.

<sup>156</sup> Dazu MÜNZER (1909c), Sp. 1796.

Imperiums beschäftigt war und sich daher nicht um die innernumidischen Angelegenheiten kümmern konnte.<sup>157</sup> Nach seinem Triumph 120 v.Chr. war der leibliche Neffe des Aemilianus trotz seiner enormen politischen Machtstellung durch seine senatorischen Standesgenossen innenpolitisch stark isoliert. Dieser Umstand reduzierte offenbar seinen wegen seiner herausragenden *dignitas* eigentlich beträchtlichen Einfluss im Senat. Die *invidia* gewichtiger anderer konsularischer Senatoren, darunter sicherlich die Domitii Ahenobarbi, aber wahrscheinlich auch die Caecilii Metelli und ihr politischer Zögling Aemilius Scaurus, erwies sich in der politischen Alltagspraxis als stärker. Dies wiederum hatte zur Folge, dass sich Fabius Allobrogicus für seinen numidischen *amicus* Iugurtha, den er seit der gemeinsamen Zeit vor Numantia 134 v.Chr. kannte, nicht wirksam einzusetzen vermochte. In der entscheidenden Phase seines Lebens fehlte also Iugurtha in Rom ein einflussreicher Fürsprecher, der ihn nach Micipsas Tod als Alleinherrscher Numidiens hätte bestätigen können.

Iugurtha ist demnach ein sehr gutes Beispiel für einen von Rom abhängigen auswärtigen König, dem die veränderten politischen Machtverhältnisse innerhalb der römischen Nobilität zum Verhängnis geworden sind. Dass ihm im entscheidenden Moment ein einflussreicher Patron in Rom fehlte, besiegelte Iugurthas Schicksal: Ohne einen mächtigen Schutzherrn im römischen Senat geriet er zwischen die verschiedenen politischen Kräfte und Parteiungen in Rom, die für Iugurtha aus unterschiedlichen Gründen wenig bis gar nichts übrig hatten.<sup>158</sup> So bietet Iugurtha ein treffliches Gegenbeispiel zu Ptolemaios XII., der sich dank der Protektion durch Pompeius Magnus sowohl in Ägypten als auch in Rom echte politische Fehlritte erlauben konnte, ohne dadurch sein Königtum zu verlieren.<sup>159</sup> Was Fabius Allobrogicus für seinen numidischen *amicus* immerhin noch getan haben könnte, war möglicherweise wenigstens die Bereitstellung einer Residenz<sup>160</sup> für Iugurtha während dessen Rom-Aufenthaltes 111 v.Chr.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> In diesem Umstand lässt sich gemäß FLAIG (2013), S. 246-248 vonseiten Micipsas eine „Politik der ausgenützten Abwesenheit“ erkennen: Es erscheint gut möglich, dass Micipsa Fabius' kriegsbedingte Abwesenheit von Rom gezielt ausgenutzt hat, um den von Fabius' Seite befürchteten Widerstand von vornherein auszuschließen. Auch die innenpolitischen Unruhen um C. Gracchus dürften die Aufmerksamkeit des Senats von den Vorgängen in Numidien abgelenkt haben.

<sup>158</sup> Siehe dazu ausführlich Anmerkungen 7 und 9.

<sup>159</sup> Dazu ausführlich CHRISTMANN (2005).

<sup>160</sup> Ptolemaios XII. und Kleopatra VII. residierten während ihrer Aufenthalte in Rom bei ihren *patroni*; das erlaubt die Vermutung, dass auch Iugurtha bei seinem Patron wohnte. Denn wo sonst hätte er in Rom ein Domizil gefunden?

<sup>161</sup> Zu Iugurthas Aufenthalt in Rom 111 v.Chr. siehe ausführlich SCHIETINGER (2016).

## LITERATURVERZEICHNIS

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# Excursions of the Roman Navy in Britain: The Mutiny of the Usipi

## 1. Introduction

Roman ambitions to complete the conquest of Britain were revived in the Flavian period after a decade of retrenchment under the emperor Nero. Following the success of two able provincial governors, Cerialis and Frontinus, in the 70s, Vespasian then sent Gnaeus Iulius Agricola to govern *Britannia* in A.D. 78. During his exceptional seven-year term of office, Agricola continued to pursue an aggressive, expansionist agenda, climaxing in resounding victory at *Mons Graupius* in northerly Caledonia in A.D. 84; his fleet also completed the first Roman circumnavigation of the British isle: thus was *perdomita Britannia*. But although Agricola was highly successful overall, his penultimate campaign was tarnished by an infamous revolt undertaken by a cohort of Usipi, a regiment which had just been levied in Germany and sent over to Britain.<sup>1</sup>

In the year A.D. 83, Roman forces were heavily engaged in carrying the northern war forward into the Caledonian heartland and were encountering fierce resistance. It was at this critical and rather inopportune time that the Usipi rebelled and attempted to return to their Rhine-side homeland. Having disposed of their Roman officers, they commandeered three ships and in a fraught voyage sailed round Britain, eventually making a landfall on the German shore where they were captured, some being returned to Roman custody across the Rhine.

This article closely examines the geographical setting of the Usipian mutiny and seeks to identify the route taken by the rebels.

## 2. The sources

There are four literary references to the mutiny contained within the works of Tacitus, Cassius Dio and Martial. Translations are provided as interpretation of their sometimes ambiguous geographical content forms the basis of this article.

The principal source is Tacitus, son-in-law of Agricola. His biography *de Vita Agricolae* contains a detailed annalistic account of Agricola's campaigns in

<sup>1</sup> The chronology of Agricola's governorship has now been clarified by SMITH (2015) and supersedes the case made by BIRLEY (2005), p. 77-79 for a year-earlier date.



Britain and describes the incident, the Usipian mutiny, which marred the progress of Agricola's sixth campaign year (Agr. 28):

*Eadem aestate cohors Vsiporum per Germanias conscripta et in Britanniam transmissa magnum ac memorabile facinus ausa est. Occiso centurione ac militibus, qui ad tradendam disciplinam inmixti manipulis exemplum et rectores habebantur, tres liburnicas adactis per uim gubernatoribus ascendere; et uno remigante, suspectis duobus eoque interfectis, nondum uulgato rumore ut miraculum praeuehebantur. Mox ubi aquam atque utilia raptum exissent, cum plerisque Britannorum sua defensantium proelio congressi ac saepe uictores, aliquando pulsus, eo ad extremum inopiae uenere, ut infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos uescerentur. atque ita circumuecti Britanniam, amissis per incitiam regendi nauibus, pro praedonibus habiti, primum a Suebis, mox a Frisiis intercepti sunt. Ac fuere quos per commercia uenumdatos et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos indicium tanti casus inlustrauit.*<sup>2</sup>

"That same summer, a cohort of Usipi which had been levied in the German lands and sent over to Britain ventured on an extraordinary and memorable exploit. They murdered a centurion and some soldiers who had been incorporated into their ranks to instil discipline and lead by example and commandeered three light warships, forcing their pilots on board. Keeping one helmsman (the other two were not trusted and killed)<sup>3</sup> they were an object of wonder as they passed by, their ill repute not yet being widely known. Eventually, when landing to seize water and provisions, they encountered numerous Britons who tried to defend their property; the raiders were often successful but sometimes they were driven off and were thus reduced to such dire straits that they ate some of their number, firstly the feeblest and then by drawing lots. And so, in this fashion they sailed round Britain; then they lost their ships through bad seamanship, were taken for pirates, and were cut off initially by the Suebi and then by the Frisii. Some were sold as slaves and traded until they reached our bank [of the Rhine] where they gained notoriety by the telling of so great an adventure."

Tacitus then refers back to the episode in the fictitious, set-piece speech of the Caledonian leader, Calgacus, prior to the Battle of *Mons Graupius* the following year (Agr. 32.3): ... *tam deserent illos ceteri Germani quam nuper Vsipi reliquerunt*, "the remaining Germans will desert them just as the Usipi have recently forsaken them."

A second, substantial and alternative account of the mutiny is contained in an 11<sup>th</sup> century epitome of Cassius Dio's *Roman History* compiled by the Byzantine monk Xiphilinus. The event was associated with Titus' 15<sup>th</sup> Imperial acclamation which was awarded in A.D. 79 (*Roman History* 66.20.1-2):

<sup>2</sup> Text based on OGILVIE / RICHMOND (1967), p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Tacitus' *uno remigante* "with one rowing" has been much emended, cf. WOODMAN / KRAUS (2014), p. 229, but the context requires the meaning "helmsman", the "steering-oarsman", thus reflecting his reduction in status from *gubernator*.

Ἀγρικόλας ... καὶ πρῶτός γε Ῥωμαίων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ἔγνω τοῦθ' ὅτι ἡ Βρετανία περίρρυτός ἐστιν. στρατιῶται γάρ τινες στασιάζαντες, καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους χιλιάρχον τε φονεύσαντες, ἐς πλοῖα κατέφυγον καὶ ἐξαναχθέντες περιέπλευσαν τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν αὐτῆς, ὥς που τό τε κύμα καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος αὐτοὺς ἔφερε, καὶ ἔλαθον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα πρὸς τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ ταύτῃ ὄντα προσσχόντες. καὶ τούτου καὶ ἄλλους ὁ Ἀγρικόλας πειράσοντας τὸν περίπλουν πέμψας ἔμαθε καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ὅτι νῆσός ἐστιν.

"Agricola ... was the first, at least of the Romans that we know of, to discover that Britain is surrounded by water. For certain soldiers, having rebelled and slain centurions and a tribune, fled to some ships and put to sea. They sailed along towards the west of the country just as the waves and wind carried them and, coming unawares from the other side, put in at military stations which were on this side. At that Agricola sent others to attempt the circumnavigation and learned from them, too, that it was an island."

Finally, Martial (*Epigr.* 6.61.3-4) adds, quoting the work of an inferior poet Pompullus:

*sic leue flauorum ualeat genus Vsiporum,  
quisquis et Ausonium non amat imperium.*

"so may the faithless race of blond Usipi flourish [to be scattered to the ends of the earth] and whosoever loves not Ausonia's [Roman] rule."

This is usually taken to be a further reference to the mutiny.<sup>4</sup> However, the epigram was not published in Martial's annual cycle of poems until A.D. 90.<sup>5</sup> This belated mention might therefore relate, instead, to the formation of the Upper and Lower German administrative provinces in A.D. 89/90, at which time the frontier was probably demarcated to exclude Usipian territory.<sup>6</sup>

### 3. *Reliability of the literary sources*

Tacitus is widely considered to have been the greatest of Roman historians and his work has been found to be inherently reliable, both in its internal consistency and when cross-referenced to other sources, literary, epigraphic, numismatic, cartographic and archaeological.<sup>7</sup> More specifically, his pious *Vita Agricolae* was clearly intended to be a sincere, diligent and accurately informed piece of work and no doubt he endeavoured to tell the truth, as he saw it.<sup>8</sup> For his material,

<sup>4</sup> For example, FURNEAUX / ANDERSON (1922), p. 169; OGILVIE / RICHMOND (1967), p. 321; ASH (2010), p. 287-288.

<sup>5</sup> COLEMAN (2006), p. xxvii (Tab. 2).

<sup>6</sup> Discussed further in SMITH (2015), p. 194.

<sup>7</sup> FURNEAUX (1883), p. 19-25; HANSON (1991), p. 1746-1747; MELLOR (1993), p. 35-46; BIRLEY (1999), p. xxxii-xxxv; RIVES (1999), p. 56-66.

<sup>8</sup> Tacitus purposefully wrote the biography of his father-in-law, Agricola, for posterity (*Agr.* 3.3; 46). His close friend, Pliny the Younger, noted the obligation to posterity: *sed studio et labore et reuerentia posterorum* (*Ep.* 9.14), and acknowledged that history should

Tacitus was well-placed as senator to gain access to public records and eminent people while, for the *Agricola*, he had the subject as a source, his father-in-law. Nevertheless, some of his information was derivative and is therefore suspect, as has been noted in his ethnography of *Germania* for example.<sup>9</sup> Tacitus also wrote with moral purpose and this can distort the factual content of his work. This is illustrated, for example, in the speech of the Caledonian leader, Calgacus, prior to the Battle of Mons Graupius, a powerful address about tyranny and freedom; Agricola's response is surprisingly prosaic: both speeches are fictional and follow literary convention.<sup>10</sup> Again, in relation to the Usipian episode, Tacitus appears to adopt favourable glosses, downplaying the loss of senior officers, excusing the failure to intercept the mutineers, finding only bad seamanship in an amazingly successful voyage and imaginatively portraying the Usipi as barbaric cannibals. That said, the Usipian incident was well known in Rome as Tacitus himself states (*indiciū tanti casus inlustrauit*) and as Pompullus, Martial and Dio-Xiphilinus' separate references confirm: it would therefore have been reckless for Tacitus to have published (in A.D. 98) an overtly false account. In fact, Tacitus had no real need to mention the episode which is of marginal relevance to his biography of Agricola and detracts from its laudatory tenor; presumably the parable of barbarian resourcefulness in the pursuit of liberty (*magnum ac memorabile facinus ausa est*), ultimately succumbing to Roman omnipotence, simply appealed to Tacitus.

Cassius Dio compiled his *Roman History* about 130 years after the Usipian episode and his version of the mutiny is paraphrased, being less detailed where it overlaps with Tacitus' account. In general, Dio has been faulted for a lack of attention to 'trivial detail', adorning bare facts with rhetorical commonplaces for dramatic effect.<sup>11</sup> This creation of 'tragic history' can perhaps be seen in his provocative assertion that the rebel Usipian voyage informed the official Agricolaan circumnavigation. It has then been recognised that Xiphilinus selectively abridged rather than paraphrased Dio, substantially retaining his original arrangement and wording.<sup>12</sup> Thus, as has happened here, Xiphilinus has omitted the majority of Agricola's notable and relevant achievements while highlighting the secondary Usipian episode. His account might therefore be considered untrustworthy, or even a garbled version of Tacitus.<sup>13</sup> However, Dio-Xiphilinus' report of the Usipian episode is internally coherent, realistically specific and not at serious odds with Tacitus.

not stray from the truth: *honeste factis ueritas sufficit* (Ep. 7.33.10); in his opinion, Tacitus' histories would be immortal: *historias tuas immortales futuras* (Ep. 7.33.1-2).

<sup>9</sup> SYME (1958), p. 125-127; etc. See also footnote 22 below and associated text.

<sup>10</sup> TAC., *Agr.* 30-32; 33-34. OGILVIE / RICHMOND (1967), p. 253-254, 265; HANSON (1987), p. 17.

<sup>11</sup> MILLAR (1964), p. 42-43; CARY (1914), v. 1, p. xiii.

<sup>12</sup> MILLAR (1964), p. 2-3; CARY (1914), v. 1, p. xviii.

<sup>13</sup> HANSON (1987), p. 42-43.

Both the principal sources coincide in describing a mutiny of Roman troops, the murder of officers, the commandeering of ships, unexpected landings on the Romano-British coast, and the circumnavigation of Britain. The varied but largely complementary content of the two narratives indicates that they were not only penned independently but also reliably, probably derived from common source material circulating in Rome.<sup>14</sup>

The detailed geography of Britain was of limited interest to Tacitus, and probably his readers, and is not a particularly subjective topic.<sup>15</sup> There would therefore have been little need for Tacitus, or indeed Dio, to distort or misrepresent such details, few though they are.

Since the independent accounts of Tacitus and Dio-Xiphilinus reinforce each other, they will be treated as essentially reliable.<sup>16</sup> However, they do diverge significantly with regard to the dramatic date and on the relevance of the mutiny to Agricola's navy, while there are also conflicting opinions on Tacitus' record of the Roman advance into Scotland. These matters are therefore discussed in more detail in the relevant sections below.

#### 4. *The Usipi homeland*

Throughout Roman times, the Usipi struggled to establish a fixed territory on the right bank of the lower Rhine. They were initially encountered by Julius Caesar in 55 B.C. when they, as the Usipetes, together with their Tencteri allies attempted to settle on the Gaulish side of the Rhine but were driven back across the river, near present-day Arnhem, to re-occupy their former north-bank territory in the region of the River Lippe:<sup>17</sup> they were still being confronted by the Romans in the same vicinity between 16 B.C. and A.D. 14.<sup>18</sup> However, by A.D. 58, the Usipi and the Tencteri had both been forced southwards to occupy an extensive swathe of east Rhine land opposite Cologne which had been abandoned by the pro-Roman Ubii several decades previously.<sup>19</sup> The Tencteri held the more northerly territory, confronting the Cologne Ubii during the troubled times of A.D. 69-70, while the Usipi joined in an attack on Mainz to the south, together with the neighbouring Mattiaci and Chatti: their homeland is unlikely

<sup>14</sup> OGILVIE / RICHMOND (1967), p. 321-322; MURISON (1988), p. 186-187.

<sup>15</sup> FURNEAUX / ANDERSON (1922), p. xxxviii-xxxix; OGILVIE / RICHMOND (1967), p. 31-36; HANSON (1987), p. 21-22.

<sup>16</sup> CLARKE (2001), p. 111 considers that Tacitus' tale of the Usipian revolt has 'the ring of implausibility'. However, she neglects Dio-Xiphilinus' confirming account.

<sup>17</sup> The Usipetes seem to have been severely mauled at Kessel-Lith, about 25 miles WSW of Arnhem: ROYMANS (2018).

<sup>18</sup> 55 B.C.: CAES., *B.Gall.* 4.1-16; 16-11 B.C.: DIO CASS. 54.20.4-6, 54.32.1-2, 54.33.1; A.D. 14: TAC., *Ann.* 1.51.2.

<sup>19</sup> TAC., *Ann.* 13.54-6, on territorial fluidity in A.D. 58. The Ubii had been relocated to Cologne in the 30s-20s B.C., previously living as far south as Neuwied and the Lahn: SEIDEL (1996), p. 238-239; CARROLL (2001), p. 23, 123-127.

have been far removed.<sup>20</sup> Tacitus then confirms, in his account of *Germania* written in A.D. 98, that both tribes still occupied the same territories during the Flavian period, locating firstly the Usipi and then the Tencteri to the north of the Rhine gorge on the barbarian right bank of the river, noting that the Rhine here served as the imperial boundary.<sup>21</sup>

The ethnographic material in Tacitus' *Germania* is now considered to be clichéd and conventional, with Tacitus uncritically repeating stereotyped commonplaces: its reliability is therefore suspect.<sup>22</sup> However, in the second part of his treatise, a catalogue of individual tribes, Tacitus does specify the character and territory of each in a realistic manner.<sup>23</sup> He also had an excellent source of first-hand material in Pliny the Elder, particularly for the Rhineland, while still making use of other sources to supplement and update this.<sup>24</sup> Tacitus' later works also confirm that his knowledge of the Rhine territories in the first century was detailed and accurate. More specifically, his description of the Usipian homeland is topographically unmistakable in depicting the Rhine landscape between Mainz and Cologne; the setting is also compatible with contextual events. Although the territory of the Usipi, as with the majority of German tribes, cannot be distinguished in the archaeological record, it seems clear from Tacitus that, at the time of the mutiny, the Usipi were living to the north of the Taunus hills in the vicinity of the Lahn and Wied rivers, opposite Koblenz.

Sixty years later they had, as the *Οὔσιπτοι* in Ptolemy, migrated to the Black Forest and the debatable lands of the *decumates agri*, back within the Empire.<sup>25</sup> This region was eventually abandoned by Rome at the time of the Gallic Empire (A.D. 260s) and the original Rhine frontier was reinstated: the Usiphi (*sic*) were left to be assimilated into the Barbarian world.<sup>26</sup>

### 5. The dramatic date

Tacitus explicitly states that the mutiny of the newly-raised auxiliary cohort of Usipi took place in the same summer as Agricola's sixth campaign, namely in A.D. 83. This is the first and only reference to a *Cohors Vsiporum* serving in

<sup>20</sup> A.D. 69 (Usipi): TAC., *Hist.* 4.37; A.D. 70 (Tencteri): *Hist.* 4.64.

<sup>21</sup> TAC., *Germ.* 32.1-2.

<sup>22</sup> SYME (1958), p. 125-127; LUND (1991), p. 1883-1920; MELLOR (1993), p. 14-16; THOMAS (2009), p. 59.

<sup>23</sup> THOMAS (2009), p. 60-61.

<sup>24</sup> SYME (1958), p. 451-453; RIVES (1999), p. 58-60. Pliny the Elder served in Germany in about A.D. 46-52 and subsequently wrote a comprehensive, 20-volume history on 'The German Wars' (PLIN., *Ep.* 3.5.2-5). TAC., *Ann.* 1.69.2 refers to his familiarity with the elder Pliny's works (see also PLIN., *Ep.* 6.16.1-3).

<sup>25</sup> PTOL., *Geog.* 2.11.10 (still locating the Tencteri opposite Cologne). TAC., *Germ.* 29.3, comments on the status of the *decumates agri*.

<sup>26</sup> *Nomina Prouinciarum Omnium*, in *Laterculus Veronensis*; RIESE (1878), p. 129 (# 14: *Usiphi*). CARROLL (2001), p. 132-133, provides the historical context.

the Roman army and reflects the fact that the trans-Rhenian Usipi lived beyond the imperial frontier and had not previously been eligible for army service and the citizenship rights which this conferred.

It is possible that the frontier Usipi could have been recruited beforehand as an irregular extra-territorial unit, or *numerus*, since such regiments did not usually qualify for citizenship on discharge.<sup>27</sup> However, so-called ethnic or national *numeri* do not appear to have been recruited before the Traianic period and, even then, still from within the empire.<sup>28</sup> These units also had a relatively low status and were usually under the command (*sub cura*) of a centurion (*praepositus*) rather than a tribune; the Usipi, on the other hand, were being inducted as a standard auxiliary *cohors*. The recruitment of the Usipi as an irregular Flavian *numerus* can therefore be discounted.

According to Tacitus the lower Rhine had long marked the imperial frontier with barbarian Germania, having been accepted as a pragmatic limit to the Empire by Tiberius in A.D. 17 while Claudius, in A.D. 47, again stipulated that the Rhine should serve as the boundary with right bank Germany.<sup>29</sup> The river traffic itself was controlled by the *Classis Germanica* operating from Cologne-Alteburg and by the Claudian *colonia* at Cologne which rapidly became the river's principal commercial port. Inevitably, this Roman presence extended to riparian interests on the right bank and a swathe of land about 10 km deep, a *limesvorland*, shows signs of Roman military and economic intervention.<sup>30</sup> The Rhine had already been bridged at Mainz and Koblenz,<sup>31</sup> and minerals were sometime extracted in Bergisches Land, the Drachenfels, the Lahn basin and the Taunus hills, in territory of the Tencteri, Usipi and Mattiaci respectively.<sup>32</sup> Tacitus therefore portrays the Tencteri complaining in A.D. 70, *nam ad hunc diem flumina ac terram et caelum quodam modo ipsum clausurant Romani*, "up to this day have the Romans closed river and land and, in a way,

<sup>27</sup> OGILVIE / RICHMOND (1967), p. 245, and HANSON (1987), p. 42, admit the possibility of extra-territorial recruitment on the frontier.

<sup>28</sup> REUTER (1999) provides a comprehensive overview; also SOUTHERN (1989). A possible exception, a [*numerus*] *Palmyrenis sagittariis*, was raised from a quasi-independent frontier people in about A.D. 114. However, veterans had been recruited in the province of Syria and uniquely received citizenship on discharge, suggesting that the client state of Palmyra had, by the time of Traian's annexation of outlying Mesopotamia, already been incorporated into the Roman Empire, *contra* EDWELL (2008), p. 31-54.

<sup>29</sup> TAC., *Germ.* 1.1, 29.2, 32.1 (historic); *Ann.* 2.26.1-3, 2.41.2-3 (Tiberius); 11.19.3 (Claudius).

<sup>30</sup> KUNOW (1990). See HANSON (1989), p. 57-60, and MANN (1974), for an overview.

<sup>31</sup> Mainz bridges date to A.D. 27 and A.D. 71, cf. BELLEN (1989), p. 82 (n. 10); Koblenz bridge dates to A.D. 49, cf. SCHMIDT (1981).

<sup>32</sup> BODE / HAUPTMANN / MEZGER (2007), p. 108-109: Bergisches Land lead; RÖDER (1974), KENNECKE (2014): Drachenfels trachyte; DAHM (1897): Lahn silver; DAVIES (1935), p. 179-180: Taunus silver, cf. TAC., *Ann.* 11.20.4 (A.D. 47). The mining operations are not closely dated, however.

the very air".<sup>33</sup> Roman suzerainty had, in fact, been extended across the Rhine in Claudian times to incorporate the right-bank Mattiaci. However, Tacitus explicitly states that their long-standing allegiance was exceptional: there is no evidence to show that other right bank tribes on the lower Rhine had been treated in the same manner.<sup>34</sup> As far as the Usipi are concerned, the Rhine marked the limit of Roman jurisdiction although, as neighbours of the Romanised Mattiaci and possibly still bridge-linked to Koblenz, they must have been subject to everyday and wide-ranging Roman contact.

This set of circumstances changed in late A.D. 82, however, when the new emperor Domitian set in motion plans to make war against the Chatti, a belligerent German tribe located immediately to the east of the Usipi in present-day north Hessen. The Chatten war itself was confined to a single campaign which was undertaken between about May and September A.D. 83.<sup>35</sup> East Rhine territory closest to the campaign springboard of Mainz was quickly annexed but little else besides: new Domitianic-period forts only seem to have been installed around Neuwied (opposite Koblenz), in likely Usipian territory, and to a limited extent in the Wetterau to the east.<sup>36</sup> Frontinus confirms that the imperial frontier had been extended by 120 miles (180 km), its eventually fortified distance between Rhine and Main, and adds that Domitian garrisoned the territory of the Cubii, winning their allegiance with cash and justice.<sup>37</sup> This tribe or sept is otherwise unknown but, in view of the minimal area overrun, it is possible that they and the Usipi are one and the same entity,<sup>38</sup> the name Cubii conceivably being a palaeographic miscopying of Usipii.<sup>39</sup> If so, it suggests that the Usipi

<sup>33</sup> TAC., *Hist.* 4.64.6-7.

<sup>34</sup> The unique right bank Mattiaci were Roman 'heart and soul', *mente animoque nobiscum agunt* (TAC., *Germ.* 29.2) ...except during the chaos of A.D. 69 (TAC., *Hist.* 4.37.3). The Romans occupied Wiesbaden (*Aquae Mattiacae*) and Hofheim in the A.D. 40s, cf. SCHOPPA (1974), p. 14-24, 148-149. *Cohortes Mattiacorum* were raised in A.D. 52 (*CIL* 16.22) and A.D. 74 (*CIL* 16.44 = *ILS* 2000). During a period of Augustan-Tiberian expansion in Germany, the right-bank Frisii had also been briefly incorporated into the Empire; for sources, see footnote 80 below.

<sup>35</sup> SMITH (2015), p. 157-162.

<sup>36</sup> Domitianic forts have been identified at Heddesdorf, Bendorf and Niederberg in the Neuwied area: SCHÖNBERGER (1969), p. 158 (n. 109). East of the Romanised Mattiaci (Wiesbaden), inroads were made in the Wetterau: *ibid.*, p. 155-159, 176 (Fig. 20).

<sup>37</sup> FRONTIN., *Strat.* 1.3.10 (frontier), 2.11.7 (Cubii). The *limes* distance given by Frontinus seems lateral, cf. HANSON (1989), p. 57, rather than penetrative, there being no evidence for deeper occupation of Chatten territory in Hessen. The Taunus-Wetterau frontier was eventually fortified in about A.D. 110: KORTÜM (1998), p. 29-33, 51.

<sup>38</sup> The only other possibility is that the Cubii were annexed in the Wetterau, territory which was later organised as the *Civitas Vlpia Taunensium*: SOMMER (1999), p. 177-180.

<sup>39</sup> Possibly miscopied *u > c*, *si > u* in Later Roman Cursive script, with resulting euphonic change *p > b*. JULIUS HONORIUS, *Cosmographia*, has Usipii (ms. variants Usippi, Ussuppi): RIESE (1878), p. 32 (# 12, 13). A medieval emendation, Usipii, occurs in TAC., *Hist.* 4.37.3 (Leiden m/s).



were brought into the Empire without too much difficulty. The prompt recruitment and despatch of the *Cohors Vsiporum* for service in Britain in the summer of A.D. 83 can be directly related to these simultaneous events in Germany, as Mommsen originally noted.<sup>40</sup>

Dio-Xiphilinus' dating of the mutiny to A.D. 79 is clearly at odds with the foregoing circumstances. However, Xiphilinus' abridgement, while highlighting the Usipian episode, has condensed all seven years of Agricola's governorship, largely post-dating A.D. 79, into a single narrative for that year. It therefore has little value for dating purposes.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, despite being the focus of Xiphilinus' attention, the mutiny was clearly irrelevant to Titus' 15<sup>th</sup> imperial acclamation which was awarded for success in Britain; the respective section of material concerning Agricola's activities has clearly been omitted from Dio's original text. Despite that, both Urban and Walser contend that Dio-Xiphilinus is a more reliable source for the mutiny than Tacitus, perceiving Tacitus' account to be seriously flawed and misplaced chronologically for dramatic effect.<sup>42</sup> However, as previously discussed, Tacitus' works are notable for their essential reliability and he was scrupulous in adhering to their annalistic structures;<sup>43</sup> his account is coherent and is complemented rather than contradicted by the extract in Dio-Xiphilinus.<sup>44</sup> But for the latter's conflicting date, there would be little reason to give it priority over Tacitus' more detailed version of events.

Allowing that Dio-Xiphilinus' date might be authentic, a number of arguments have been raised in favour of earlier recruitment of the Usipi. For example, it has been proposed that their enlistment might have coincided with the formation of a cohort of extra-territorial Frisii in A.D. 79.<sup>45</sup> However, this is a case of mistaken identity: the recruits actually attested to on that occasion were Romanised Frisiavones who lived on the Gallic side of the Rhine.<sup>46</sup> Another suggestion is that the Usipi might have been annexed during Rutillius Gallicus' Rhine campaign of A.D. 77.<sup>47</sup> However, this was a relatively minor undertaking near the Rhine delta, remote from Usipian territory. Alternatively, Birley surmises that the Usipi might have been pressed into service following their attack on Mainz in A.D. 69.<sup>48</sup> However, punitive conscription of alien troops would

<sup>40</sup> MOMMSEN (1886), p. 150 (n. 1), elaborated by ANDERSON (1920), p. 160-161; SMITH (2015), p. 191-194.

<sup>41</sup> AS NESSELHAUF (1952), p. 237-238 (n. 3), also notes.

<sup>42</sup> URBAN (1971), p. 21-34; WALSER (1951), p. 37-38 (n. 134).

<sup>43</sup> See footnote 7 above and associated text.

<sup>44</sup> OGILVIE / RICHMOND (1967), p. 321-322.

<sup>45</sup> McELDERRY (1920), p. 70-73; OGILVIE / RICHMOND (1967), p. 245, 319; HANSON (1991), p. 1752.

<sup>46</sup> *CIL* 16.51. The Frisiavones are profiled in BOGAERS (1971), p. 71-76, 84 (n. 16).

<sup>47</sup> McELDERRY (1904), p. 460; (1920), p. 73. *STAT., Silu.* 1.4.89-90 refers to the campaign; *CIL* 16.23 records the subsequent discharge of troops in April 78.

<sup>48</sup> BIRLEY (1981), p. 79 (n. 43) quoting TAC., *Hist.* 4.37, but deleted (2005).

have been unprecedented. Finally, it has been inferred from Tacitus' plural form *per Germanias conscripta* that the Usipi could have been enlisted at some earlier time from within the long-standing military administrations of Upper and Lower Germany.<sup>49</sup> However, Tacitus clearly states that the Usipi lived on the non-Roman, east bank of the Rhine, and elsewhere uses the plural *Germaniae* when referring to foreign German lands beyond the Rhine.<sup>50</sup> For the most part, the foregoing proposals also overlook Tacitus' comment that the Usipi were new recruits undergoing training and discipline during Agricola's administration. All told, there is no convincing evidence to support the earlier, conflated date of Dio-Xiphilinus.

Tacitus' attribution of the Usipi mutiny to A.D. 83, combined with the circumstances of their recruitment, therefore seems secure. However, it means that the whole episode must have unfolded within the year: the Usipi would therefore need to have been conscripted in May or June in order to facilitate their transfer to Britain by July-August and still leave time for the cohort to engineer its escape and return to the Frisian coast by September-October.<sup>51</sup> Although this is a compact timetable, the Rhine-side Usipi were already exposed to a degree of mercantile, military and diplomatic control by Rome and appear to have been easily-bought subjects, for the time being. The immediate proximity of their territory to Domitian's Chattan proceedings would also have allowed for their ready annexation at the outset of his campaign. Immediate recruitment and the ensuing rapid chain of events would therefore have been feasible.

The reason for the precipitate mutiny is unknown. It may have been due to harsh treatment, opportunism, or to political fragility back home – the front-line Usipi's acquiescence to conscription was probably expedient while, as Martial and archaeology indicate, their territory was soon to be excluded from the empire.

## 6. *The site of the mutiny*

Tacitus is typically disinterested in the geographical aspects of the mutiny but Dio-Xiphilinus' account makes good the deficiency, indicating that the voyage originated on the west-facing part of Britain. Sites on the east coast, such as at the Firth of Forth, can therefore be discounted.<sup>52</sup> It also seems from Dio-Xiphilinus' description that the voyage followed two contrasting directions, thus ruling out a direct route to mainland Europe from the south or east coasts.

<sup>49</sup> CHURCH / BRODRIBB (1877), p. 62-63; OGILVIE / RICHMOND (1967), p. 196, 245; SOVERINI (2004), p. 225. BÜCHNER (1960), p. 172-175, and FORNI (1962), p. 189, locate Usipi on both sides of the Rhine.

<sup>50</sup> TAC., *Agr.* 15.3-4; *Ann.* 1.34.5, 2.26.5.

<sup>51</sup> MCELDERY (1904), p. 460 rejects this as an impracticable timetable.

<sup>52</sup> MERIVALE (1865), p. 330 (n. 1), and GUDEMAN (1928), p. 132, assuming the Forth to have been the base for all Agricola's naval activity.

The Usipi had arrived in Britain in the midst of Agricola's sixth campaign and were raw recruits being put through basic training and discipline at the hands of regular officers and soldiers. At this time, the Roman army and navy were struggling to contain the war in eastern Scotland and *Legio VIII Hispana* had almost been overwhelmed.<sup>53</sup> Northern Britain would not have been the place for inexperienced troops or time-consuming training: the Usipi are more likely to have been sensibly stationed well behind the battle zone.

In the early 70s, the northern frontier had been pushed as far as the Tyne-Solway line following Petillius Cerialis' subjugation of the Brigantes and occupation of Carlisle and its immediate hinterland in A.D. 72, this being confirmed archaeologically.<sup>54</sup> The Lake District was not occupied, however, and the Roman focus switched to Wales where Frontinus overcame the Silures and then Agricola conquered the Ordovices and Mona (Anglesey), both successes being celebrated on the Flavian coinage.<sup>55</sup> Meanwhile, the more northerly Roman fortresses at York and Chester were still in the process of being established.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, it has been argued that the Romans continued to advance northwards in the A.D. 70s, reaching Strathmore in eastern Scotland, the frequency of fort rebuilding and regular finds of pre-Flavian coins, pottery and glass, hinting at a longer-term, pre-Agricolan presence; literary sources are also said to refer to earlier Roman campaigns in the forests of Caledonia.<sup>57</sup> However, Agricola's war in the north had progressed unevenly, in stages of advance, retrenchment, re-advance and finally occupation, this being reflected in the frequent rebuilding attested archaeologically. The artefactual assemblages from Roman sites in mid-Scotland are also compatible with an Agricolan date and bear comparison with the definitive period site at Elginhaugh, Midlothian.<sup>58</sup> As for the literary sources, Pliny simply states that Roman arms had not yet (by the early 70s) reached the wilds of Caledonia, *non ultra uicinitatem siluae Calidoniae propagantibus*, which accords with Tacitus' narrative, while the poetic encomiums making symbolic references to Caledonia and Thule post-date Agricola's

<sup>53</sup> TAC., *Agr.* 25-27, describes the sixth campaign (A.D. 83).

<sup>54</sup> TAC., *Agr.* 17.1. CARUANA (1992), p. 104-105 quotes dendrochronological evidence for the occupation of Carlisle in A.D. 72/73. EVANS / SCULL (1990) discern early Flavian pottery at nearby Blennerhasset fort. BIDWELL / SNAPE / CROOM (1999), p. 69-72, and SHOTTER (2000), p. 192, review the numismatic and ceramic evidence for Flavian occupation of the region.

<sup>55</sup> TAC., *Agr.* 17.2 (Silures), 18 (Ordovices / Mona). SMITH (2015), p. 181-184 links an *aureus* of A.D. 77/78 (*RIC*<sup>2</sup> V 959) with the Silurian submission, coins of A.D. 79 (*RIC*<sup>2</sup> V 1067-1069, 1075-1078) with the conquest of Anglesey.

<sup>56</sup> HASSALL (2000); SMITH (2015), p. 195-200.

<sup>57</sup> WOOLLISCROFT / HOFFMAN (2006), p. 187-202, leading them to the extravagant conclusion that Tacitus' *Vita Agricolae* was a work of fiction. CARUANA (1997), SHOTTER (2000), (2009) and WOOLLISCROFT (2009) further discuss the evidence.

<sup>58</sup> HANSON (2007), p. 22-25, 29-34, despite WOOLLISCROFT's (2017) special pleading.

advances in the north.<sup>59</sup> None of this evidence confounds Tacitus' methodical account of the Flavian wars in Britain.

Undoubtedly there would have been military forays and trade and diplomatic exchanges northwards in the 70s but the Tyne-Solway was a pragmatic frontier, as illustrated by its role as such for some 250 years, and it is doubtful whether the Romans would have opened a second, undistinguished front in hostile Caledonia while being intensively engaged in Wales. Archaeology has shown that the main Roman supply base for Agricola's northern war was sited at Corbridge on the Tyne and Tacitus confirms that garrisons were then established in southern Scotland in the two years preceding the mutiny.<sup>60</sup> In addition, unique garrison camps of the 'Stracathro' type, dating to the Flavian period, are found only in Scotland, from the Solway to the Moray Firth, and their distribution generally coincides with and supports Tacitus' account of the course of Agricola's war in Caledonia.<sup>61</sup> In aggregate, the archaeological and literary evidence tends to confirm that the base line for Agricola's military operations was situated on the Tyne-Solway isthmus. The training camp of the non-combatant Usipi is unlikely to have been located to the north of this.

Likewise, the lack of awareness of the revolt and the failure of the Romans to pursue or intercept the small rebel flotilla also suggest that the mutiny took place well away from the intensive army and navy presence in the north. A break-out from the Clyde estuary, for example, could hardly have been ignored.<sup>62</sup>

The three sea-going warships seized by the Usipi, *liburnicae* more commonly known as *liburnae*, were standard navy vessels and each might typically have been manned by about 50-60 rowers, 10 deck personnel and up to 75 marines, giving a total crew in the order of 80-150 men.<sup>63</sup> This capacity constraint therefore suggests that the *Cohors Vsiporum* was quingenary (500 strong) rather than milliary (1,000 strong) and commanded by a prefect rather than a tribune. And, since only three ships were taken and none used in pursuit, attachment to

<sup>59</sup> PLIN., *HN* 4.16.102; SIL., *Pun.* 3.597-8, a late-Flavian panegyric; STAT., *Silu.* 5.1.91 (Thule), 5.2.140 (Caledonia), eulogising Vettius Bolanus, governor of Britain in A.D. 69-71, written in c. A.D. 96.

<sup>60</sup> HANSON *et al.* (1979); TAC., *Agr.* 23-24. In A.D. 81, Scotland south of the Forth-Clyde isthmus was garrisoned. In A.D. 82, Agricola made a sea crossing to place troops opposite Ireland, namely in Galloway; a crossing of the Firth of Clyde to Kintyre (BIRLEY [1975], p. 144) would have been logistically and strategically superfluous, with no support from Ptolemy (viz. *poleis* as forts) or archaeology.

<sup>61</sup> JONES (2012), p. 87, 123-132 (distribution; date); SMITH (1987), p. 26-27 (as garrisons).

<sup>62</sup> A location favoured by CHURCH / BRODRIBB (1877), p. 63; OGILVIE / RICHMOND (1967), p. 248-249; SOVERINI (2004), p. 228.

<sup>63</sup> Liburnian (*liburna*) as standard: STARR (1941), p. 54; REDDÉ (1986), p. 104-110. Capacity: VIERECK (1975), p. 35-37; PITASSI (2009), p. 320. TAC., *Hist.* 5.23 (text defective) reports that the usual crew of a *liburna* numbered 30-40 men.

a full *cohors classica*, commanded by a tribune, also seems unlikely.<sup>64</sup> The murdered tribune (χιλίαρχος) and centurions referred to by Dio-Xiphilinus – Tacitus is not unnaturally diffident on this point – must have been seconded from a legion.

Now, although Agricola had taken a substantial army of about 30,000 troops to the north, all four legions based in Britain were not involved.<sup>65</sup> Tacitus records that Agricola split his army into three divisions in his penultimate campaign; in war conditions, each of these divisions would have been spearheaded by a legion, supported by a matching component of lighter auxiliary troops.<sup>66</sup> One legion had seemingly been left in the south to maintain the provincial government and keep watch over recently subdued tribes in Wales and northern England and this was, in fact, *Legio II Adiutrix*, optimally located at pivotal Chester. The legion's newly-constructed fortress was 15% larger than its Flavian counterparts and contained an unusual suite of buildings, including an exceptional 'pantheon', suggesting that it may well have housed the governor's permanent British headquarters at that time.<sup>67</sup> In addition, several tombstones attest to the death of soldiers from *Legio II Adiutrix* at Chester throughout A.D. 81/82, 83/84 and 87/88 and these confirm that the legion remained there for the duration of the Caledonian campaign.<sup>68</sup>

*Legio II Adiutrix* had been raised from sailors of the Mediterranean fleets during the civil wars of A.D. 69 and may still have retained an element of naval tradition and expertise.<sup>69</sup> It also seems that at about this time, some waterfront legions began to include marines (*epibatae*) in their ranks:<sup>70</sup> at Chester, an unusual epitaph records the sometime loss of an *optio ad spem* (deputy centurion) in a shipwreck, the first century epitaph perhaps being more attributable to *Legio II Adiutrix* than *Legio XX Valeria Victrix*.<sup>71</sup> Naval ships were also

<sup>64</sup> A *Cohors I Aelia Classica* operated on the Cumbrian coast from Hadrianic times. The marines were, latterly at least, commanded by a tribune (*Notitia Dignitatum* 40.51); *RIB* 2411.94; HASSALL / TOMLIN (1995), p. 389-390.

<sup>65</sup> Agricola had 13,000 auxiliary troops at *Mons Graupius* (TAC., *Agr.* 35.1, 37.1) and probably a matching force of legionaries. New territory had also to be garrisoned.

<sup>66</sup> TAC., *Agr.* 25.4. VEG., *Mil.* 2.2 describes the separate but integrated functions of legions and auxiliaries.

<sup>67</sup> MASON (2000), p. 66-97; (2012), p. 96-108.

<sup>68</sup> Original recruits to *Legio II Adiutrix* are commemorated by *RIB* 481 after 11 (possibly 9) years' service; by *RIB* 482, 483, 485 and perhaps *RIB* 535 (BIRLEY [1986], p. 204-205) after 13 years' service; and by *RIB* 476 after 17 years' service. The legion was formally constituted on 7 March 70 (DIO CASS. 5.24.1-3; *CIL* 16.10 and 11). The theme is elaborated in SMITH (2015), n. 238-241, 280-282, 327-328, countering HASSALL (2000), p. 61-63.

<sup>69</sup> A tombstone from the legion's prior Lincoln base features dolphins / trident: *RIB* 258.

<sup>70</sup> VARON (2000).

<sup>71</sup> *RIB* 544: the *optio's* unit is not named. *Legio XX VV* succeeded to Chester in A.D. 87.

stationed near Chester in A.D. 82 since Agricola led his campaign that year by sailing across the Irish Sea to place troops in the relatively isolated corner of south-west Scotland, probably a quicker and more convenient strategy than a landward approach.<sup>72</sup> In practice, this squadron may have been based at Meols, on the tip of the Wirral peninsula, since Chester had limited quayside facilities at the head of the Dee's awkward tidal reach.<sup>73</sup> Meols harbour, now lost to coastal erosion, was well frequented from the Iron Age until early-modern times and the many artefacts recovered confirm that it was a flourishing mercantile and probably naval port in the Roman period.<sup>74</sup> So, although the main Roman fleet was now fully occupied in northern waters, a limited naval capability had perhaps been retained, with the support of the Chester legion, to exercise control over the busy frontier seaways of the Irish Sea.<sup>75</sup>

In summary, the Usipi were not front line troops but were undergoing the intensive training and induction required by the Roman army, in the manner detailed in the army instruction manual of Vegetius, for example.<sup>76</sup> In such circumstances, the new recruits from Germania would have been better supervised by being attached to uncommitted forces in the south, namely within the command area of *Legio II Adiutrix* on the inner Irish Sea coast.<sup>77</sup> Since north Wales had only recently been subjugated and as Cumbria was not yet under military occupation, the cohort's training camp was perhaps sited somewhere between the Dee and Lune estuaries.<sup>78</sup>

### 7. *The journey's end*

Dio-Xiphilinus is silent about the final stages of the voyage and fate of the Usipi, only being concerned to make his point that the event informed and pre-empted the subsequent circumnavigation of Britain by Agricola's fleet. However, Tacitus completes the tale, suiting his moral purpose, and adds that the Usipi were shipwrecked upon reaching the European mainland, being picked up firstly by the Suebi and then by the Frisii: the logic of Tacitus' phrase, *primum a Suebis, mox a Frisiis intercepti sunt* suggests that two separate groups were

<sup>72</sup> TAC., *Agr.* 24. See also footnote 60 above.

<sup>73</sup> MASON (2012), p. 121-126, notes the limitations of Chester's Roman harbour.

<sup>74</sup> GRIFFITHS / PHILPOTT / EGAN (2007); HUME (1863).

<sup>75</sup> TAC., *Agr.* 24.2-3 refers to the trade with Ireland, as does PTOL., *Geog.* 1.11.4, naming a Greek merchant Philemon, known to geographer Marinus and so probably active in the early Traianic period.

<sup>76</sup> VEG., *Mil.* 1.8-28.

<sup>77</sup> Evidence for formal legionary command over auxiliary cohorts is lacking but, in practice, such arrangements would have been necessary: SADDINGTON (1982), p. 183-186.

<sup>78</sup> TAC., *Agr.* 18 refers to the subjugation of north Wales / Anglesey in A.D. 78. For the post-Flavian occupation of Cumbria see POTTER (1979), p. 356-358 (Fig. 145); BIDWELL / SNAPE / CROOM (1999), p. 68-72.

intercepted, not that the same group was captured twice. Tacitus further claims that the Usipi were taken for pirates and then lost their ships through bad seamanship, circumstances more consistent with a coastal rather than riverine landfall. However, the rebels, as sailors, had successfully circumnavigated approximately 1,000 miles of the British coastline, had put in at harbours, crossed the sea to Germania, and landed without reported loss of life. All of which suggests that this is another demeaning Tacitean gloss to be treated with caution.

The rebels had presumably intended to return to their German homeland, about 250 km inland from the coast, ideally by sailing up the Rhine with the requisite support of fellow Germans on the non-Roman, right-bank. The second of the interceptions is therefore capable of straightforward interpretation.

Territorially, the Frisii were relatively settled in the first century A.D. and occupied raised mounds (*terpen*) on higher ground in an area dominated by lagoons and marshes around the former Zuyder Zee, extending from the north bank of the Old Rhine towards the River Ems.<sup>79</sup> Although independent, they had been subject to Rome from 12 B.C. to A.D. 28 and briefly in A.D. 47, and remained susceptible to ongoing diplomatic and military influence across the Rhine frontier.<sup>80</sup> The inept landing, interception, unfriendly reception and return to Roman hands of some of the Usipi therefore appears to have taken place on north side of the Rhine delta, the nearest non-Roman territory to Britain.

It might then be expected that the prior landing by the other set of Usipi and their encounter with the Suebi would not have been far removed but this seems to be contradicted by the geographical context. The Suebi comprised several tribes occupying the interior part of Germany stretching from Schleswig and the River Elbe southwards as far as the Danube and eastwards over the north German plain.<sup>81</sup> On the North Sea coast they held only a limited stretch of the shoreline in the vicinity of the Elbe estuary and Danish peninsula and were separated from the Frisii by the Chauci who occupied a 100 km stretch of the intervening coast between the Elbe and Ems rivers.<sup>82</sup> If it was therefore the case that some Usipi were captured by Elbe Suebi, yet others in Frisian territory,

<sup>79</sup> TAC., *Ann.* 4.72-73 (north of the Rhine delta), *Germ.* 34-35 (lake lands between Rhine and Ocean); PLIN., *HN* 4.15 (101) (islands / lakes north of the Rhine); PTOL., *Geog.* 2.11.11 (Friesland coast). Pottery assemblages might suggest that the earlier core territory of the Frisii faced the Wadden Sea (Dutch) to the north: VAN HEERINGEN (1989), p. 214-219 (Fig. 73). PLIN., *HN* 16.1-5 (1-2), from personal experience, describes the *terpen* landscape and culture of this coast: MURPHY (2004), p. 166-174; VAN DE NOORT (2011), p. 108-115.

<sup>80</sup> 12 B.C. (Romanised): DIO CASS. 54.32.2-3; A.D. 28 (repudiation): TAC., *Ann.* 4.72-74.1; A.D. 47 (failed reintegration): *Ann.* 11.18-19; A.D. 58 (coercion): *Ann.* 13.54; A.D. 70 (animosity): TAC., *Hist.* 4.79.

<sup>81</sup> CAES., *B.Gall.* 4.1; STRABO 4.3.4 (194), 7.1.3 (290-291); PLIN., *HN* 4.14 (100); TAC., *Germ.* 38-46; PTOL., *Geog.* 2.11.15.

<sup>82</sup> TAC., *Germ.* 35; *Ann.* 1.60, 2.24, 11.18-19; PTOL., *Geog.* 2.11.11; PLIN., *HN* 4.14-15 (100-101), 16.1-5 (1-2).



then their small flotilla must have become widely scattered at some stage. It also means that the Usipi, or at least some of them, must have completely by-passed the Rhine, the Frisii and the Chauci if coming from southern Britain, or else must have sailed directly across the North Sea if coming from northern Britain. All of these outcomes seem implausible.<sup>83</sup> However, the latter eventuality has been routinely accepted and is therefore discussed at length.

### 7.1. The North Sea option

If the Usipi had, in fact, made a long, diagonal crossing over the full extent of the North Sea (a distance of 4-500 miles from north-east Scotland to the vicinity of the Elbe estuary), such a daring, foolhardy and unique voyage over the open Ocean would have been one of the more astonishing features of the whole episode, yet is not mentioned by Tacitus or Dio-Xiphilinus. Their descriptions of the Usipian voyage around Britain refer only to its coastal character. However, given the geographical shortcomings of these sources, this need not to be regarded as definitive.

Urban has therefore suggested that Tacitus and his contemporaries believed that Caledonia was orientated towards the east, as recorded in Ptolemy's world map, so that its furthest extremity actually faced nearby Jutland and the Elbe across a narrowing of the North Sea: this would then account for Tacitus' supposed reconstruction of the Usipian voyage to include the Elbe Suebi.<sup>84</sup> However, Tacitus did not have the geographical imagination, interest, knowledge or need to fabricate such a detail: he simply understood Caledonia to be a huge and shapeless mass extending to its furthest shore, with only the harsh and open sea beyond.<sup>85</sup> The cartographic reorientation of Caledonia eastwards through 90° was also a later, systematic distortion devised by Ptolemy himself in order to reconcile exaggerated survey data with an established climatic and geodesic framework.<sup>86</sup> His concept of northern Britain was not published until about A.D. 150 and Urban's proposition is untenable.

Although the Usipi had retained one competent pilot, it is most unlikely that he would have had the navigational skills to cross the open North Sea. Roman concepts of spatial relationships were primarily one-dimensional: linear itineraries and *periploi* sufficed for their utilitarian travel needs.<sup>87</sup> Although, on land, a network of itineraries might have created a broader geographic understanding, there seems to have been limited awareness about the potential of maps to

<sup>83</sup> URBAN (1971), p. 21-28, sees this apparent paradox as a fatal flaw in Tacitus' account.

<sup>84</sup> URBAN (1971), p. 25-26: PTOL., *Geog.* 2.3.4 (Scotland), 2.11.3 (Jutland).

<sup>85</sup> TAC., *Agr.* 10.3.

<sup>86</sup> SMITH (1987), p. 45-48, *contra* MANN (1990), who ascribes the re-orientation of Scotland to the earlier geographer, Marinus.

<sup>87</sup> CHEVALLIER (1976), p. 29-31; LAURENCE (1999), p. 86.

reveal more effectively the two-dimensional interconnectivity of places.<sup>88</sup> Thus a road map of the late Roman world, the Peutinger Table, is a compilation of linear information in visual rather than tabular form and retains an inherent one-dimensional character.<sup>89</sup> At sea, the Romans then had insufficient navigational and recording skills to be able to construct a competent network of spatial data and so did not possess charts: the two navigational aids available were therefore *periploi*, logs of coastal routes, and instruction manuals for harbours.<sup>90</sup> In effect, this means that they would only have been able to form a rudimentary mental map of the geography of Britain in relation to the North Sea and adjacent lands.

Early Roman writers consistently described Britain as having a simple triangular shape, facing Germany to the east, nearby Gaul to the south and Spain to the west.<sup>91</sup> Knowledge of this basic geographical outline had originated in a remarkable voyage undertaken by Pytheas of Marseille in about 320 B.C. According to fragments of his now lost account *On the Ocean* he circumnavigated Britain, including the northernmost island of Thule, and might also have visited Jutland and the Baltic.<sup>92</sup> Nevertheless, even supposing that Pytheas had ventured to Iceland, or across the North Sea to Norway or Denmark, any detailed understanding that he might have gained of the northern Ocean had been lost by Agricola's time, four hundred years later. The Roman navy was now exploring Britain's northern coastline for the first time and was still in the process of establishing for a fact that Britain was an island; Thule was believed to be Shetland, sighted just beyond Orkney.<sup>93</sup> Scandinavia to the east is not mentioned by Tacitus, only more southerly Germany. To the west, he also reports that Ireland lay midway between Britain and Spain, geographical relationships which are grossly inaccurate.<sup>94</sup> These distorted representations of Britain's position relative to mainland Europe are, in essence, extrapolations from a land-based perspective: the Romans probably had little idea whether the

<sup>88</sup> Epitomised by VEG., *Mil.* 3.6. Ptolemy's *Geography* was an exception, having a scientific purpose rather than an everyday function. JANNI (1984) and HÄNGER (2001) examine classical-period spatial awareness and travel.

<sup>89</sup> CHEVALLIER (1976), p. 28-34; RIVET / SMITH (1979), p. 148-150.

<sup>90</sup> STRABO 1.1.21: his advice to pilots to include mathematical and astronomical data fell on deaf ears. DILKE (1985), p. 130-144, reviews the extant *periploi*.

<sup>91</sup> CAES., *B.Gall.* 5.13; DIOD. SIC. 5.21; STRABO 4.5.1; MELA 3.6.50; PLIN., *HN* 4.16 (102); TAC., *Agr.* 10.2. Their concepts are illustrated in JONES / MATTINGLY (1990), p. 18 (Map 2:3), replicating DILKE (1985), p. 47 (Fig. 6) [except Mela also describes a triangle, not the shapeless lump depicted; Tacitus' irregular and tapering Caledonia has been overlooked].

<sup>92</sup> ROSEMAN (1994) is a comprehensive source for the surviving fragments and references to Pytheas' work *On the Ocean*. CUNLIFFE (2001) provides a cultural context.

<sup>93</sup> TAC., *Agr.* 10.4.

<sup>94</sup> TAC., *Agr.* 24.1.

intervening seas were open or even if there was an undiscovered 'Atlantis' over the horizon.<sup>95</sup> The continental Usipi will have been no better informed.

In pre-mediaeval Europe, voyagers then had no means of determining their position on the open sea except by a primitive form of dead reckoning, with limited knowledge of mid-ocean tidal currents, drifts and winds and with an unrefined awareness of time, direction and speed (usually overestimated).<sup>96</sup> Although latitude could be established astronomically, the relevant skills were not even possessed by Agricola's fleet which seems to have navigated by dead reckoning, Ptolemy overestimating the north-south extent of Scotland by almost 60% from the resulting *periplous*.<sup>97</sup> Coastal voyaging and island hopping were therefore the only practical and trusted means of navigation, normal practice being to make a landfall at night: except for short, established crossings, open sea voyages could not be managed.<sup>98</sup>

The archaeological evidence for ancient North Sea voyaging, or otherwise, is inconclusive. Two pairs of early Neolithic stone axes found on the Dogger and Brown Banks off eastern England might suggest that journeys across the open North Sea could already be accomplished.<sup>99</sup> However, it is not obvious whether they derived from wrecked boats driven offshore, or to what extent these subsea rises might still have existed as accessible offshore islands, or were even revered, submerged banks whose whereabouts had been handed down through millennia of navigational lore.<sup>100</sup>

In the later Neolithic and Bronze Ages, south-Scandinavian flint tools, amber and metalwork occasionally reached Britain. However, these imported artefacts are mostly found in Wessex and around the Thames estuary, suggesting the sea crossing was probably made near the Strait of Dover.<sup>101</sup> In return, metal goods from Ireland and Britain found their way to Denmark and neighbouring Scania

<sup>95</sup> PLIN., *HN* 4.16 (103), locates 'British' Glaesariae (Electridae) in the German (North) Sea but elsewhere confirms them as Frisian: *HN* 4.13 (97). He also (*ibid.*) links 7 Aemodae with Britain, while MELA 3.6.54 notes that they faced Germany; RIVET / SMITH (1979), p. 41, 241 identify them with Shetland.

<sup>96</sup> MCGRAIL (1983), p. 299-318 has a more optimistic view of early navigational skills. VEG., *Mil.* 4.38-43 only provided advice on safe sailing, making no reference to the finer arts of navigation.

<sup>97</sup> SMITH (1987), p. 8 (Fig. 2), 47, based on PTOL., *Geog.* 2.3.1-4.

<sup>98</sup> Voyagers between Normandy or Ireland and Britain, for example, need only have lost sight of land for part of a day. A rare trans-oceanic route was established between Aden and India in about A.D. 45 after an experienced captain, Hippalos, had formed a reliable image of the region's geography and climate: *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* 57, CASSON (1989), p. 86-87.

<sup>99</sup> VAN DE NOORT (2011), p. 58-59, 143-144.

<sup>100</sup> VAN DE NOORT (2011), p. 136-145, quoting Micronesian practice, envisages an evolving navigational capability as the legendary Dogger isles imperceptibly submerged. COLES (1999) reassesses the rate of formation of the North Sea.

<sup>101</sup> FRIEMAN (2015): flint; SHENNAN (1982): amber.

(Sweden) but the finds are infrequent and a diffuse pattern of exchange via Germany and the Netherlands again seems to be more likely than any direct North Sea connection.<sup>102</sup> The suggestion that fishermen might have indulged in incidental trading activity around Scotland and across the North Sea seems fanciful:<sup>103</sup> seafood was a limited part of the diet of prehistoric communities fringing the North Sea, consisting of shellfish and inshore trapped and line-caught fish: they were not deep sea trawlers.<sup>104</sup>

By the late Iron Age, a wealth of archaeological evidence confirms that there was then a flourishing trade across the Channel and in the Irish Sea, demonstrating that open-sea crossings in this 'Atlantic zone' could be regularly accomplished using established ports and accumulated navigational knowledge.<sup>105</sup> This activity is also well supported by literary references.<sup>106</sup> In the early Roman period there then followed a shift in emphasis away from the Atlantic zone and a much busier trading pattern can be discerned on the 'British Sea' between the south-east of England and the facing Gallic, Belgic and German coasts, the latter being centred on the Rhine and Cologne, and the estuarial entrepôts at Colijnsplaat and Domburg where relieved merchants gave thanks to the goddess Nehalennia for safe passage.<sup>107</sup> However, as far as the north-eastern shores of Britain are concerned, there is little evidence for the over-seas movement of people, goods or ideas. This was not so much a matter of having suitable seagoing ships but whether such were extensively used or even needed. Thus, from the River Humber northwards, there are few signs of the international emporia such as found in the south and west of Britain and there are no identified artefact concentrations or shipwrecks which might be connected with such intercourse.<sup>108</sup> At best, a few scattered finds of amber probably reflect local sea-shore gleanings or diffuse exchange.<sup>109</sup> Similarly, in Scandinavia, significant trading centres had yet to develop and the archaeological record reveals a predominantly overland-riverine trading exchange with central Europe to the south.<sup>110</sup> But for a brief phase of Augustan-period contact via the Rhine estuary, there was little sea-borne trade between Scandinavia and the Roman Empire and evidence for direct trading across the North Sea with Britain is negligible.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>102</sup> BUTLER (1963), with an extensive artefact catalogue, identified a significant Bronze Age, North Sea trade but this has been radically reassessed by JOCKENHÖVEL (2004). THRANE (1975), NEEDHAM (2009), and CUNLIFFE (2013), p. 66, 215, 270-286, find little evidence for early North Sea trade.

<sup>103</sup> HODGES (1956), p. 48-49, noting a dearth of relevant artefacts in southern Britain.

<sup>104</sup> VAN DE NOORT (2011), p. 80-85 reviews the evidence for seafood consumption.

<sup>105</sup> MATTHEWS (1999); CUNLIFFE (2005), p. 474-483.

<sup>106</sup> CAES., *B.Gall.* 3.8-9, 3.13; DIOD. SIC. 5.21-22, STRABO 4.1.14, 4.4.1, 4.5.2.

<sup>107</sup> MORRIS (2010), p. 27-52; CUNLIFFE (2005), p. 600-604, (2013), p. 381-384; VAN DE NOORT (2011), p. 147-148, 168. Also, STRABO 4.5.2; PLIN., *HN* 4.19 (109).

<sup>108</sup> MATTHEWS (1999), p. 191 (Fig. 11.6); CLEERE (1978); MORRIS (2010), p. 88-89.

<sup>109</sup> MORRIS (2010), p. 23-24, 98-100.

<sup>110</sup> NÄSMAN (1991); MORRIS (2010), p. 94 (Fig. 4.43).

<sup>111</sup> MORRIS (2010), p. 42-51, 94-101.

Regarding shipping capabilities, primitive boats such as rafts, hide boats, logboats and larger sewn-plank vessels were seaworthy and could manage relatively short trips. However, they were all susceptible to the vagaries of wind and tide thus making it difficult to maintain a course; frequent caulking (impracticable at sea) may have been required; paddling and exposure would also have been exhausting over several days on the open sea; and all types were liable to flounder in heavy seas.<sup>112</sup> Although several Bronze Age, Iron Age and Roman-period shipwrecks and cargoes have been found from the Humber round to the Severn, the boats tend to comprise flat-bottomed river and coastal types; the find locations are all estuarial or inshore.<sup>113</sup> Admittedly, by the Roman period, robust sailing ships were operating in the Atlantic province of the British Isles,<sup>114</sup> but no craft or their cargoes have, as yet, been found in the middle of the North Sea.<sup>115</sup>

On the opposite side of the North Sea, meanwhile, ship design was relatively primitive.<sup>116</sup> On the Rhine delta, rebel Batavians in A.D. 69 did have access to substantial biremes and monoremes (possibly captured) as well as everyday skiffs (*luntres*, literally “troughs”).<sup>117</sup> However, further north, Tacitus records that the Chauci of east Frisia only made use of light craft (*leuia nauigia*) and pinnaces (*luntres*), when carrying out extensive coastal raiding in A.D. 47; Pliny further adds that German pirates, probably in the same Wadden Sea region, still relied on large 30-man dug-out canoes (*singulis arboribus cauatis*).<sup>118</sup> This basic provision is confirmed by numerous archaeological finds of expanded logboats, dating to the Roman period, along the North Sea coast of Schleswig-Holstein.<sup>119</sup> Elsewhere, Tacitus reports that the war fleets of the Sui-ones, a naval power in southern Sweden, comprised double-prowed ships which were paddled rather than rowed and lacked sails (*nec uelis ministrant, nec remos in ordinem lateribus adiungunt*).<sup>120</sup> Archaeologically, this is paralleled by the Danish Hjortspring war canoe, a 20-man, clinker-built craft of about 350 B.C.; it also mirrors depictions in Scandinavian petroglyphs of the first millennium B.C.<sup>121</sup> All these northern boats would have been unsuitable for long, inhospitable North Sea crossings: critical features such as sails, oars, decks

<sup>112</sup> SIMMONS / DiBENEDETTO (2014), p. 77: rafts; PEACOCK / CUTLER / WOODWARD (2010): hide and log boats; McGRAIL (2001), p. 193-194: sewn-plank boats. The seaworthiness of ancient craft is scientifically assessed by EJSTRUD (2012).

<sup>113</sup> McGRAIL (2001), p. 194-200; VAN DE NOORT (2011), p. 61, 152-167.

<sup>114</sup> McGRAIL (2001), p. 206-207; VAN DE NOORT (2011), p. 166-167.

<sup>115</sup> A faint prospect, although numerous other artefacts have been netted by fishermen: VAN DE NOORT (2011), p. 13, 59. Oil-industry exploration has also been extensive.

<sup>116</sup> HAYWOOD (1999), p. 17-39, summarises.

<sup>117</sup> TAC., *Hist.* 5.21-3.

<sup>118</sup> TAC., *Ann.* 11.18; PLIN., *HN* 16.76 (203).

<sup>119</sup> EJSTRUD (2012), p. 39-41 (Fig. 18, after Hirte).

<sup>120</sup> TAC., *Germ.* 44.2.

<sup>121</sup> CRUMLIN-PEDERSEN (2010), p. 28-31; McGRAIL (2001), 191-192.

and keels do not appear in the Scandinavian archaeological record until much later in the first millennium A.D. (thereby contributing to Viking mastery of the North Atlantic).<sup>122</sup>

In summary, the archaeological evidence for trade and shipping indicates that long-distance, direct crossings over the North Sea, from prehistoric through to Roman times, were neither feasible nor were they undertaken, particularly on a sufficiently frequent or organised basis to enable navigational expertise and *periploi* to be developed. Tacitus also confirms that Roman ships seldom entered German waters, and had not done so since a brief Augustan incursion.<sup>123</sup> For Roman merchants, their continental trade in this sector was confined to the southern North Sea bight, particularly between the Thames and the Rhine, its coastal margin providing navigational bearings and useful shelving beaches:<sup>124</sup> this trading pattern accords with the accounts of contemporary writers such as Strabo and Pliny.<sup>125</sup>

The North Sea also presented a formidable psychological challenge. In classical times it was thought that the Ocean (the North Sea included) formed the outer bounds of the world, was an opaque and torpid sea stretching without limit beyond the margins of the earth, a primitive and chaotic state where the order of nature was suspended, a divine realm not to be transgressed.<sup>126</sup> Thus Tacitus, concluding a factual account of a Roman naval disaster on the Frisian coast in A.D. 16, characterises the adjoining North Sea as (*Ann.* 2.24):

*... hostilibus circum litoribus aut ita uasto et profundo, ut credatur nouissimum ac sine terris mare ... ut quis ex longinquo reuenerat, miracula narrabant, uim turbinum et inauditas uolucres, monstra maris, ambiguas hominum et beluarum formas, uisa siue ex metu credita.*

"... with enemy shores all around or else a sea so wide and deep that it is thought to be the final one, unbounded by land ... all who returned from far away told tales of wonders, such as powerful whirlwinds, unheard-of birds, sea-monsters, and ambiguous creatures partway between human and animal; they either saw such things or believed them in their terror."

Pedo Albinovinus, a witness to the same disaster, uses similar archaic imagery:

*... notis extorres finibus orbis, per non concessas audaces ire tenebras ad rerum metas extremaque litora mundi. nunc illum, pigris immania monstra sub undis qui ferat, Oceanum, qui saeuas undique pristis aequoreosque canes, ratibus consurgere prensis (accumulat fragor ipse metus), iam sidere limo nauigia et rapido*

<sup>122</sup> CRUMLIN-PEDERSEN (2010), p. 65-70, 95-99.

<sup>123</sup> TAC., *Germ.* 2.1, 34.2.

<sup>124</sup> CARVER (1990) considers that early sailors, having adequate boats and navigational skills, would have preferred limitless blue-water thoroughfares to hazardous coasts.

<sup>125</sup> STRABO 1.4.3, 4.3.3-4, 4.5.1-3; PLIN., *HN* 4.16 (102), 4.19 (109).

<sup>126</sup> ROMM (1992), p. 140-149; MURPHY (2004), p. 166-183; GRAINGE (2005), p. 17-22.

*desertam flamine classem seque feris credunt per inertia fata marinis iam non felici laniandos sorte relinqui* (quoted by Sen., *Suas.* 1.15).

“... they, exiled from the world’s known bounds, dare to pass through the shadows whose realm is denied them toward the end-points of things, the final shores of the world. Now that body which holds, beneath its slow waves, huge monsters – Ocean – which holds savage sea-beasts in every direction and sea-dogs, begins to rise up, the ships going with it, which noise redoubles their fears; the ships, they believe, are now sinking in mud, and the fleet deprived of its swift-blowing breezes, themselves by the chances of drift to be left to the sea-beasts to be torn in pieces forthwith, a grim kind of death.”<sup>127</sup>

The North Sea was a terrifying void populated by monsters and touched by hostile shores, the Oceanic waters other-worldly and deadly. Even in sheer desperation the Usipi would surely have balked at venturing forth in the vague direction of Germania, being totally ignorant of the currents, waves and weather which might be encountered, with no charts or landmarks to provide a bearing, and without refuge on the open sea from storms and monsters, real or imaginary. It would have been a voyage of unknowable duration and destination and a forbidding prospect. The Elbe estuary would therefore seem to be a most unlikely destination and Tacitus’ Suebi need to be sought elsewhere.

## 7.2. The Rhine option

The Suebi comprised such a sizeable and widespread ethnic group that their name was often used as a synonym for Germani;<sup>128</sup> this generalisation might therefore open up to wider geographic interpretation their initial encounter with the Usipi. However, since Tacitus specifically distinguishes the Suebi from the Germanic Frisii in his account, this line of inquiry can probably be discounted. And, while an outlier of the Suebi, the Suebi Nicretes, were settled around the confluence of the Neckar and Rhine by the early 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., the location is too far upstream to be relevant to the interception.<sup>129</sup>

Possible resolution of the geographical conflict may be found in a chance remark by Suetonius that the emperor Augustus resettled a group of Suebi and Sugambri on the Romano-Gaulish side of the Rhine.<sup>130</sup> This is a summary reference to the German campaign of Tiberius in 8 B.C. when he crossed the lower Rhine and subdued the recalcitrant Sugambri, returning with 40,000 prisoners to be relocated on the left (south) bank.<sup>131</sup> These Romanised Sugambri then

<sup>127</sup> Translations by ROMM (1992), p. 143-146. TAC., *Ann.* 1.60.2 notes Pedo in Frisia.

<sup>128</sup> WOLFRAM (1997), p. 9; RIVES (1999), p. 282-286.

<sup>129</sup> SOMMER (1999), p. 170-177; CARROLL (2001), p. 30-31.

<sup>130</sup> SUET., *Aug.* 21.1.

<sup>131</sup> SUET., *Tib.* 9.2; DIO CASS. 55.6.1-3; TAC., *Ann.* 2.26.3; STRABO 7.1.3-4; *Res Gestae Diui Augusti* 32.1; HOR., *Carm.* 4.2.33-36, 4.14.51.



went on to contribute four auxiliary units to the imperial army including a *Cohors I Sugambrorum Veterana*, linked by name to the nearby legionary fortress at Vetera (Xanten).<sup>132</sup> It therefore seems that they were installed in the former territory of the Eburones, near the River Maas; these people had been devastated by Julius Caesar in 53 B.C. and then plundered by the Sugambri themselves.<sup>133</sup>

The Sugambri were originally long-term neighbours of the Frisii and lived on the north side of the River Rhine, to the east of the Frisii and the deltaic 'Batavian Island', roughly between the IJssel and Lippe rivers.<sup>134</sup> They were first encountered in this area by Julius Caesar during his campaigns in northern Gaul in 55 and 53 B.C. and still occupied the same territory at the time of the various Augustan incursions of 16-18 B.C.<sup>135</sup> Although they were not included in Tacitus' geographical listing of Germanic Rhine-side tribes, the Angrivarii and Chamavi being located next to the Frisii in a kind of no-man's land opposite the legionary fortress at Xanten,<sup>136</sup> the Sugambri had not disappeared. Strabo specifically states that a part of the tribe still remained in its original right bank homeland following the Augustan resettlement and this non-Roman faction was still located there by Ptolemy in the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>137</sup> The divided Sugambri also continued to be well known in Flavian Rome as Martial (as subjects) and Juvenal (as foe) attest.<sup>138</sup>

Martial was present at the inaugural games in the Colosseum in A.D. 80 and his 'breathless reportage' of *The Spectacles* captures the atmosphere.<sup>139</sup> Setting the scene, he marvels at the cosmopolitan audience: in their midst, representing the Germani, "Sugambrians have come with hair curled in a knot", *crinibus in nodum tortis uenere Sygambri*.<sup>140</sup> This distinctive knot, hair tied back above the

<sup>132</sup> TAC., *Ann.* 4.47.3 (A.D. 26). *CIL* 16.22/44/56/78/106; ROXAN (1978), p. 30-31.

<sup>133</sup> CAES., *B.Gall.* 5.24 (territory), 6.29-44 (devastation), 6.35 (plundering). 'Eburonian' staters have been found in northern Belgium, west of the Maas: SCHEERS (1977), p. 439-443. CARROLL (2001), p. 26-32 summarises Caesar's wars and the Augustan resettlement.

<sup>134</sup> HEINRICHS (2005), p. 124 locates the Sugambri further upstream, between the rivers Lippe and Wupper.

<sup>135</sup> CAES., *B.Gall.* 4.16-19, 6.35. DIO CASS. 54.20.4-6; 32.1-2; 33.1-2; 36.3-4; 55.6.1-3; FLOR. 2.30.24-26; STRABO 4.3.4, 7.1.3-4, 7.2.4.

<sup>136</sup> TAC., *Germ.* 33-34 (A.D. 98). TAC., *Ann.* 13.54-56 describes the trans-rhenian DMZ opposite Xanten (A.D. 58) and its successive occupation by the Chamavi, Tubantes, Usipi, Frisii and Ampsivarii.

<sup>137</sup> STRABO 7.1.3 (confirmed by 4.3.4 and 7.2.4); PTOL., *Geog.* 2.11.8-9. Ptolemy also located Langobardi Suebi by the Rhine, next to the Sugambri, but earlier writers (e.g. TAC., *Germ.* 40.1) sited them by the Elbe.

<sup>138</sup> MART., *Spect.* 3.9; JUV. 4.147.

<sup>139</sup> COLEMAN (2006), p. lxxxii. At p. xlv-lxiv, she considers a mid-80s dramatic date.

<sup>140</sup> MART., *Spect.* 3.9.

right ear, was famously characteristic and defining of the Suebi.<sup>141</sup> So, although it may be that the Sugambri described here were more symbolic than actual, Martial, and presumably his audience, nevertheless believed them to be of Suebic stock. The theme then recurs in one of his later epigrams which refers to the stylish “knots of the Rhine”, more likely a reference to the celebrity Sugambri rather than the recently incorporated Suebi Nicretes of the Mannheim area.<sup>142</sup> Even at the time of their subjugation a century earlier, Ovid had associated the Sugambri with fashionable German tresses, presumably of the distinctive Suebic style: *captiuos mittet Germania crines*.<sup>143</sup> Martial’s description of the Sugambri as Suebic suggests that this identity continued through to Flavian times.

Accounts of their confrontations with Rome in the first century B.C. indicate that the Sugambri were not Suebic in origin. However, as Tacitus noted, the distinguished Suebic knot was sometimes imitated by those with whom they had an affinity (*cognatio*), such as possibly existed during the Sugambrian-Suebian resettlement.<sup>144</sup> It may therefore have been the case that, as Dio similarly noted, “the Suebi, to be precise, live beyond the Rhine though many others claim their name”.<sup>145</sup> Whatever the circumstances, Suetonius was clearly of the understanding that the Sugambri included Suebi in their midst, Martial and probably Ovid, regarded them as characteristically Suebic and, if one is to make sense of his account, Tacitus’ sources likewise.

Following their capture, some Usipi were eventually passed over to the Roman side of the Rhine, confirming that their final landfalls must have occurred on the north side of the river, or the contiguous North Sea coast. And while some of the more subservient Sugambri-Suebi had been transferred across the Rhine to Gaul by Tiberius in 8 B.C., other non-Roman Sugambri still occupied the right (north) bank of the river, upstream of the delta. It is therefore possible that the rebel Usipi did actually manage to penetrate the lowest reaches of the Rhine before being jointly apprehended by the right bank Sugambri-Suebi and their immediate neighbours, the Frisii.<sup>146</sup> This seems to provide the least convoluted geographical explanation for the rebels’ continental landfall as they sought to make their way from the shores of Britain to their homeland further up the Rhine.

<sup>141</sup> TAC., *Germ.* 38 describes the Suebian knot and notes its martial function. The knot is vividly illustrated on the Osterby bog-body, Schleswig: GLOB (1969), p. 117 (Fig. 41).

<sup>142</sup> MART. 5.37.8. The Suebi Nicretes were annexed by Vespasian: SOMMER (1999), p. 170-177.

<sup>143</sup> OV., *Am.* 1.14.45-50.

<sup>144</sup> TAC., *Germ.* 38.2. Some Roman writers associated the hair knot with Germani in general: RIVES (1999), p. 285-286, quoting SEN., *De Ira* 3.26.3, *Ep.* 124.22; JUV. 13.164-5.

<sup>145</sup> DIO CASS. 51.22.6.

<sup>146</sup> OGILVIE / RICHMOND (1967), p. 249, overlook STRABO 7.1.3, in rejecting this line of reasoning.

### 8. *Direction of the circumnavigation*

Tacitus provides few geographic clues about the British segment of the Usipian voyage, only recording that the rebels were often successful in putting in at settlements for supplies because word of their treasonous status had not yet got about. This indicates that their voyage, insofar as it is detailed, passed along a Roman-occupied coast rather than by remote shores beyond the sphere of Roman contact. Similarly, Dio-Xiphilinus confirms that the rebels were able to approach Roman military installations (στρατόπεδα), apparently without challenge. Both sources are complementary and confirm that, as far as they were concerned, the most noteworthy part of the voyage took place around the coastline of Roman-occupied Britain. Circumnavigation from the Clyde, for example, via the Mull of Kintyre and north-west Scotland to Caithness, often through remote and sparsely populated archipelagos and still outside the Roman domain, would be at odds with descriptions which are more applicable to southern Britain.

Tacitus also simply records that the Usipi sailed round Britain; he makes no mention of a particular direction, whether as a bearing, a landmark or in the orientation of circulation. Nevertheless, it is generally assumed that the voyage, albeit reflecting the Suebic context, followed a northward and clockwise course round Cape Wrath to the east side of Scotland.<sup>147</sup> It is therefore worth reiterating that Tacitus does not refer specifically to Caledonia or to the north of Britain in his account of the mutiny.<sup>148</sup>

Sceptics, wary of Tacitus' eulogy on Agricola, place emphasis on Dio-Xiphilinus' closing comment that the voyage of the Usipi informed and pre-empted the official circumnavigation by Agricola's fleet in A.D. 84, the inference being that the Usipi ventured into new waters, namely around the north of Britain.<sup>149</sup> However, the Romans were already well aware that Britain was an island; Agricola's fleet was merely the first of Roman origin to complete the circumnavigation and empirically record the fact.<sup>150</sup> Agricola did not need the Usipian voyage to establish this point.

Furthermore, much of the circumnavigation had already been completed by the Roman Navy in 40 years of supporting the conquest and occupation of

<sup>147</sup> A rare exception is DAVIS (1892), p. 61, who favoured a route southward from the Clyde to the Channel and Holland.

<sup>148</sup> 'North' is specified in Handford's translation; see MATTINGLY / HANDFORD (1970), p. 78. URBAN (1971), p. 21-28, presumes a setting in Scotland, thereby distorting his analysis.

<sup>149</sup> URBAN (1971), p. 21-34; ASH (2010), p. 276-277; HANSON (1987), p. 176. A Hebridean voyage by Demetrios of Tarsus in c. A.D. 82 (PLUT., *Obsolescence of Oracles* 410a, 419e) is also considered relevant: OGILVIE / RICHMOND (1967), p. 32-35.

<sup>150</sup> The outline of Scotland in PTOL., *Geog.* 2.3.1/4/9, almost certainly stems from the Agricolan exploration conducted in the brief, 8-year period when the north was occupied. The only other recorded circumnavigation was in Severan times: DIO CASS. 39.50.4. Ptolemy lists a series of landmarks around the Caledonian coast, the periploous including Ὀχθη ὑψηλή (*ripa alta*) and Ὀρρεα / Ὀρρέα (*horrea [classis]*) of Roman origin.

southern Britain. Familiarity with its coastline, recently extending to the Clyde and Tay estuaries, already amounted to some 75% of the island's periphery. And while northern seas were new to Agricola's fleet, they probably had some awareness of the Orcadian and Hebridean archipelagos and details of an eastern *periplous* to Orkney might even have been obtained in Claudian times.<sup>151</sup> Nevertheless, local knowledge would have been essential and native pilots engaged, much as Pytheas must once have contrived.

Passages through the Hebridean sounds and firths afforded the only means of communication between the islands and the mainland coast and would have been well known within the Atlantic broch culture of the northern and western seaboard.<sup>152</sup> Plutarch recounts a tale of Hebridean exploration undertaken by a certain Demetrios of Tarsus at this period which well illustrates the extent of contemporary native voyaging in these waters and of positive Roman engagement.<sup>153</sup> The requisite pilots or *periploi* would not have been lacking and the Roman fleet should therefore have possessed much of the navigational basis, as well as the sea-going skills, to make the circumnavigation feasible, notwithstanding any supposed Usipian input. Tellingly, the fleet successfully returned to its original base, *Portus Trucculensis*, without loss.<sup>154</sup>

Agricola had made pointed use of his navy in the Caledonian war and the circumnavigation, a reconnaissance needed to plan the occupation and exploitation of the north, was effectively a continuation of this undertaking, not an opportunistic venture. His overwhelming victory at *Mons Graupius* had also, in effect, completed the conquest of Britain after four decades of warfare and the news was greeted with immense popular acclaim in Rome.<sup>155</sup> The first Roman circumnavigation of the island was correspondingly symbolic and integral to the conquest, Usipi or no Usipi. Finally, it is difficult to envisage how Agricola's admiral, already operating in northern waters, could have learned of the extraneous Usipian voyage to the distant Rhine or to have garnered any useful details of its irregular navigational progress in the twelve months or so separating the two events, or to have benefitted from it.<sup>156</sup> The Romans did not

<sup>151</sup> EUTR., *Breuiarium ab Vrbe Condita* 7.13, records the submission of Orkney to Claudius [in Colchester], symbolising *Britannia*-wide conquest but possibly a reality: FITZPATRICK (1989). However, TAC., *Agr.* 10.4, and JUV. 2.160-161, confirm the novelty of Agricola's conquest. PLIN., *HN* 4.16 (103-104), less so MELA 3.6.54, name the archipelagos and some individual islands but include little of any geographic substance.

<sup>152</sup> ARMIT (2003) provides an account of the 'broch' culture.

<sup>153</sup> PLUT., *Obsolescence of Oracles* 419e-420a; *The Face on the Moon* 941a-b.

<sup>154</sup> TAC., *Agr.* 38.4.

<sup>155</sup> TAC., *Agr.* 10.1, 39-40.1; *Hist.* 1.2; DIO CASS. 66.20.1.

<sup>156</sup> BIRLEY (1999), p. 84: 'their fate and where they had sailed was not to be known for some time'. Conversely, MURISON (1988), p. 187: 'word about the Usipi had filtered back to Agricola'.

need to be informed or incentivised by the Usipian escapade.<sup>157</sup> Dio-Xiphilinus' comment appears to be a remote conjecture typically aimed at enlivening his narrative.

Tacitus' observation that the rebels were short of supplies and resorted to cannibalism again seems to be indicative of a lengthy journey, presumably by remote northern shores and across the open sea.<sup>158</sup> However, it is doubtful whether the Usipi would have divulged such behaviour and, if anything, water not food would have been the more pressing need. The relatively short timescales likely to have been involved (at most a week or two of deprivation) also suggest that this detail is fantastic and contrived to malign the barbarians and belittle the affair: the denigrating theme was typical of classical writers.<sup>159</sup>

Finally, it seems counter-intuitive that the rebels should choose to sail northwards into the battle zone in Caledonia where, as they would have been aware, the Roman army and navy were operating in strength (naval squadrons were active in south-west Scotland in A.D. 82 and on the east coast in A.D. 83). The chances of the Usipi's unauthorised presence being recognised and of their being intercepted at sea, or when putting in to shore, would therefore have been high. Meanwhile, the retention of a pilot, familiar only with a southern *periplous*, would have been rendered somewhat pointless. Northern waters had yet to be explored: even after the later Agricola's circumnavigation, Caledonia was merely recognised as a vast and shapeless tract; nowhere was the wild and open sea more dominant, the tides many and contrary, the going heavy and difficult for rowers.<sup>160</sup> A voyage into these challenging Oceanic waters, followed by a speculative North Sea crossing, would not have been an attractive prospect. Conversely, few Roman forces were stationed in the south, the stretch of coast between the Bristol Channel and the Strait of Dover being predominantly civilian. The Usipi, informed by their inward transit and brief sojourn and aided by their lone pilot, would also have had a better appreciation of the geography and sea-going prospects for a southern coastal voyage. Instead of embarking on a long, indeterminate journey northward, heading diametrically away from their homeland, a manageable route towards the south is likely to have been the more inviting option.

In contrast to Tacitus, Dio-Xiphilinus does fortunately include a basic geographical outline of the British section of the rebel voyage. Although this has been interpreted in different ways, the account is coherent and appears to be based on fact. According to Dio-Xiphilinus, the fleeing Usipi initially sailed westwards, the direction *πρὸς ἑσπέραν*, in the accusative case, indicating that

<sup>157</sup> ASH (2010), p. 276-277, uncritical of Dio-Xiphilinus, considers that the Roman circumnavigation was an ostentatious reaction to the 'rival' Usipian voyage.

<sup>158</sup> FURNEAUX / ANDERSON (1922), p. 118.

<sup>159</sup> WOODMAN / KRAUS (2014), p. 230.

<sup>160</sup> TAC., *Agr.* 10.

the first stage of their voyage was specifically towards the west rather than generally around or from the west, as is often stated to be the case.<sup>161</sup> However, this does not mean that they sailed all the way from the east coast to the west coast, an absurdity in the wider context,<sup>162</sup> only that their initial course was towards the west.

With the hindsight of present knowledge, and assuming the voyage originated on the Irish Sea coast, the journey might equally be perceived as having been to the west and north around Galloway, Kintyre, Ardnamurchan and Cape Wrath, or else to the west and south by Anglesey, Pembroke and Land's End. However, ancient concepts of the geography of Britain, stemming from the voyage by Pytheas of Marseille in about 320 B.C., were crucially different. Thus the Romans, also relying on Julius Caesar's findings in 55-4 B.C., consistently perceived Britain to be essentially triangular in shape, having the shorter south coast facing Gaul at its base. The eastern apex was accordingly Κάντιον (Kent) at the Strait of Dover, its western apex was Βελέριον at Land's End; the third apex Ὀρμάς (opposite Orkney) lay far to the north.<sup>163</sup> These were well-established landmarks and even if Tacitus, through Agricola, knew the island to have a more irregular shape, he still recognised it as having one side facing Gaul to the south and terminating in a wedge-shaped apex (*cuneus*) in the far north.<sup>164</sup> The three original corner promontories were also retained by Ptolemy despite knowing Britain to have a more complex, elongated outline.<sup>165</sup> Taking into account this ancient understanding of the shape of Britain, then the initial stage of the rebel voyage, to a significant turning point, is more likely to have been around western Land's End rather than northern Cape Wrath.

Dio-Xiphilinus then summarises the second stage of the voyage as, "coming unawares (ἐλαθον) from the other side (ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα), they put in at military stations (στρατόπεδα) which were on this side (τὰ ταύτῃ ὄντα)".<sup>166</sup> The paired phrases ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα and τὰ ταύτῃ ὄντα have been subject to varied interpretation but indicate that the journey was from one side of the country to the other, and more specifically from the other side to this, the nearer side, a

<sup>161</sup> For example, CHURCH / BRODRIBB (1877), p. 63; FURNEAUX / ANDERSON (1922), p. 118-119; OGILVIE / RICHMOND (1967), p. 248; URBAN (1971), p. 21; BIRLEY (2009), p. 53; WOODMAN / KRAUS (2014), p. 230.

<sup>162</sup> FURNEAUX / ANDERSON (1922), p. 119, regarding the interpretations of FURNEAUX (1898), p. 129; PETERSEN / HUTTON (1914), p. 217; SLEEMAN (1914), p. 107.

<sup>163</sup> Triangular shape: see footnote 91 above for original sources. Ancient headlands: DIOD. SIC. 5.21. RIVET / SMITH (1979), p. 44.

<sup>164</sup> TAC., *Agr.* 10.3. OGILVIE / RICHMOND (1967), p. 168-170, discuss ambiguities in Tacitus' description.

<sup>165</sup> PTOL., *Geog.* 2.3.1-4.

<sup>166</sup> The translations of RIVET / SMITH (1979), p. 101, and FOSTER (1906), p. 144, are comparable.

nuance missed in some translations.<sup>167</sup> This reference to a doubling back along the Roman-occupied, near side of Britain indicates that the second phase of the rebel voyage was along the south coast. This was the shore known to face, and be visible from Gaul and from which all trade with continental Europe, from the Rhine to the Garonne, was carried out. From a Roman perspective, Dio-Xiphilinus can hardly be referring to the east coast which was understood to face across the open sea to the barbarian world of Germany.<sup>168</sup>

Combining Dio-Xiphilinus' two key geographical fragments, these are consistent in defining a two-way coastal journey which was evidently westward round Land's End and then eastward along the Romanised south coast, rather than northward round Cape Wrath-Caithness and then southward down the east coast. The former route would also have had the benefit of leading the Usipi directly to the Strait of Dover which was the shortest and easiest sea crossing to Gaul, the Rhine and the Dutch coast. At this point, there would have been a risk of interception by the *Classis Britannica*, then operating out of Boulogne (*Gesoriacum*) and Richborough (*Rutupiae*), but the Usipi could have passed by without challenge, their *liburnae* probably not being recognised as rebel-held. Dio-Xiphilinus is then obscure regarding the termination of the Usipian mutiny, and neglects any mention of onward progress, but Tacitus' account clearly requires that the rebel flotilla should have continued on towards the German shore, thereby making use of the principal crossing point to mainland Europe.<sup>169</sup> As Strabo records, all trade between the Continent (*Celtica*) and the island of Britain was channelled through the south-east of England and controlled by the chieftains there; he also confirms that travellers to Britain from the Rhine and neighbouring region did not cross the North Sea directly but coasted down the Gallic shore to the land of the Morini, within sight of Kent, before making their sea crossing near the *Pas de Calais*.<sup>170</sup> A Usipian return by the same route would have been eminently more feasible than any fraught North Sea voyage.

<sup>167</sup> CARY (1925), v. 8, p. 303 has the unsatisfactory translation: "without realising it, since they approached from the opposite direction, they put in at the camps on the first side again", suggesting an unlikely shuttle voyage; BIRLEY (2009), p. 53 translates similarly; WOODMAN / KRAUS (2014), p. 230 concur. MURISON (1988), p. 187 proposes the amendment "...camps "on the other side". Ogilvie fails to translate ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα in his simpler version: "they touched at the forts on the other side of Britain but escaped detection"; see OGILVIE / RICHMOND (1967), p. 248.

<sup>168</sup> For example, GUDEMAN (1928), p. 132. Orientation of coasts: CAES., *B.Gall.* 5.13; CIC., *Att.* 92 (4.18); STRABO 4.5.1; MELA 3.6.50; TAC., *Agr.* 10.2, 14.1; DIO CASS. 39.50.2.

<sup>169</sup> URBAN (1971), p. 21-22, dismissing Tacitus, considers that the mutiny probably ended with capture by Roman soldiers on the east coast of England.

<sup>170</sup> STRABO 4.5.1-3; also *ibid.* 1.4.3, 4.3.3; PLIN., *HN* 4.16 (102).





Fig. 1. The Voyage of the Usipi A.D. 83.

## 9. Conclusion

Because of the fragmented and limited nature of the geographical content in both Tacitus' and Dio-Xiphilinus' accounts of the Usipian mutiny some doubts must remain about the location of each stage of the rebel voyage. In effect there are two diametrically opposed possibilities, that the Usipi sailed around the north of Britain in A.D. 83 and then directly across the North Sea towards the Elbe estuary, or else ventured south-westward round Land's End and through the English Channel to the Dutch shore. The former interpretation has been widely favoured, primarily because Tacitus' reference to the initial capture of the rebels by (Elbe-based) Suebi seems to leave little option.

However, the intimidating Roman military presence in mid-Scotland in the early 80s would have provided an incongruous setting for the unchallenged mutiny while a voyage by remote northern shores would not accord with the evasive but clear references by both Tacitus and Dio-Xiphilinus to contacts made along a Roman-occupied coast. In practice, and as described, the voyage must have been essentially coastal: a speculative push towards the empty horizon of the North Sea, a terrifying and unknown realm at the world's end, would have been forbidding.

Dio-Xiphilinus indicates that the mutiny began on the west side of Britain and, assuming the newly-recruited Usipi were not being trained in the Caledonian war zone, then it is more than likely that the cohort was based on the Irish Sea coast in the vicinity of the rearward legionary fortress at Chester. Xiphilinus' epitome then summarises the course of the rebel voyage round Britain, recording that they fled at first towards the west before returning along the near side. From a Roman point of view, Dio-Xiphilinus has described a *periplous* taking the fugitives around Land's End to the Channel coast. Continuing this course would then have led the Usipi directly to the regular, short sea crossing at Dover, and hence to the Rhine delta and the likely scene of their ignominious landfall. Allegedly shipwrecked, the Usipi would appear to have been apprehended by north bank Sugambri, seemingly of Suebic infiltration or persuasion, and then by the neighbouring Frisii, with some being traded to a potentially harsh fate on the Roman side of the Rhine. Tacitus' and Dio-Xiphilinus' diverse geographical accounts are therefore merged and reconciled.

Unwittingly, the mutinous Usipi had completed a substantial leg, approximately 40%, of the *periplous* of island Britain. Their southward course had supplemented rather than pre-empted the Roman fleet's definitive circumnavigation around the north coast, in the following year, which endorsed the conquest of Britain.<sup>171</sup>

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# Διάλεκτος, *dialectus*, dialect: A Word's Curious Journey from Ancient Greek to (Neo-)Latin and Beyond<sup>1</sup>

## 1. Introduction

“Fashionable words always become – like a much-used coin – very much worn down and flat. They lose their sharpness of impression, that is, they become so equivocal that it is difficult to use them in a serious discussion which depends upon the significance of quite definite concepts.”<sup>2</sup>

This is how the Austrian politician and political scientist Guido Zernatto (1903-1943) insightfully describes the semantic fate of popular words in his essay on the term *nation*. In the present contribution, I aim to sketch the history of a word that became fashionable in 16<sup>th</sup>-century Western Europe, *dialectus*, how that process occurred, and by whom and in which contexts the term was used.<sup>3</sup> In doing so, I want to fill a research lacuna pointed out by, among others, Trovato in an excellent paper on the term and its synonyms in Renaissance Italy.<sup>4</sup> In order to better understand 16<sup>th</sup>-century developments, I will sketch the ancient and medieval history of the word and its multiple meanings, for which I will principally depend on available secondary literature and on corpus research. The complex borrowing process of the Ancient Greek word into (Neo-)Latin constitutes the main focus of attention, after which I zoom in on the borrowing of the term from Latin into (mainly Western) European vernacular languages, on the social and semantic status of the term in early modern Western Europe, and on a number of notable neologisms based on *dialect(us)*, most importantly *dialectologia* and *subdialect(us)*.

## 2. The word διάλεκτος in Ancient and Byzantine Greek

Initially, the word διάλεκτος, an Ionic-Attic coinage, was a derivation from the mediopassive verb διαλέγομαι, ‘to converse with.’ It was therefore interpreted

<sup>1</sup> The present paper is an updated version of chapter 2 of my PhD dissertation (VAN ROOY [2017]), which I wrote and defended as PhD fellow of the Research Foundation – Flanders (FWO). I thank one of the anonymous reviewers for her/his helpful suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> ZERNATTO (1944), p. 363.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. DURKIN (2014), p. 401.

<sup>4</sup> TROVATO (1984), p. 206, 208, 219.

as ‘conversation,’ but also as ‘means of communication,’ a speech form enabling individuals to have a meaningful conversation. Early on, however, the semantics of the active verb form διαλέγω, ‘to select; to separate,’ seems to have interfered, resulting in the interpretation of διάλεκτος as ‘means of communication or way of speaking with certain linguistic particularities distinguishing it from others.’<sup>5</sup>

In the extant Ancient Greek text corpus, διάλεκτος (ῆ) is exclusively used as a noun, most likely coined in the sixth or fifth century BC. Because of the fragmentary status of the texts preserved, it is difficult to tell who was the first author to employ the word. It may already appear in fragments of Hecataeus of Miletus (c. 560–480 BC) and the historian Xanthus ‘the Lydian’ (fl. c. 450 BC).<sup>6</sup> In both instances, however, it is uncertain whether these authors’ original texts contained the term διάλεκτος or whether it was inserted by the authors quoting them. It certainly appears in the work of the comic author Hermippus (fl. c. 440–420 BC), Hippocrates (° c. 460 BC), and Aristophanes (c. 450 or later – c. 385 BC).<sup>7</sup>

Even though διάλεκτος was only used as a noun in Ancient Greek, it seems to have originally been an adjective accompanying feminine nouns such as γλῶσσα / γλῶττα (‘tongue; language’) or φωνή (‘sound; voice; speech’). This might explain its feminine gender,<sup>8</sup> since, in Ancient Greek, compound adjectives of the second declension only have two sets of endings instead of the usual three: contrast διάφορος (masculine & feminine), -ον (neuter) with σοφός (masculine), -ή (feminine), -όν (neuter). Another explanation might be that διάλεκτος took the feminine gender because it belonged to the semantic field of ‘speech,’ in which feminine nouns predominated.

The word’s original adjectival meaning remains unclear, but it probably signified something like ‘conversational,’ although many premodern scholars have argued that it had the sense of ‘distinctive.’ In 1643, for instance, the French classical scholar Claude (de) Saumaise (1588–1653) had already interpreted the word as an elliptic expression:

*Nam διάλεκτος ... non est διάλεξις, sed διάλεκτος γλῶσσα, differens lingua, ἀπὸ τοῦ διαλέγειν, quod est distinguere ac discernere.*<sup>9</sup>

The emphasis on ‘separation’ also occurs in Byzantine sources, such as the *Etymologicum magnum*,<sup>10</sup> and is sometimes implicit in certain ancient usages as well, for instance in the comedies of Aristophanes.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>5</sup> For this etymology, see COLVIN (2010), p. 201; VAN ROOY (2016c), p. 265–266.

<sup>6</sup> See HECAT., *FGrH* 1, fr. 34; XANTH., *FHG* 1, fr. 8a.

<sup>7</sup> See HERMIPP., *CAF* 1, fr. 3; *FCG* 2.1, *Ath*, fr. 2; Hp., *Art.* 30; *Vict.* 23; AR., *Fr.*, *IFF*, fr. 98.

<sup>8</sup> MORPURGO DAVIES (1987), p. 24.

<sup>9</sup> (DE) SAUMAISE (1643), p. 456. Cf. SLOFSTRA (2014).

<sup>10</sup> *EM*, Kallierges p. 268.

<sup>11</sup> VAN ROOY (2016c), p. 258–259.

According to LSJ, the Ancient Greek noun *διάλεκτος* had twelve different meanings, all listed in Table 1.<sup>12</sup> These interpretations are all related to the activity of speaking or expressing oneself. A semantic specialization of the term seems to have already begun in Hellenistic times. In fact, in his lexicon of later Greek, Sophocles only notes the following meanings: (1) ‘language,’ (2) ‘dialect, a variety of a particular language,’ and (3) ‘style.’<sup>13</sup> Further corpus-based research, outside the scope of the present paper, is, however, needed to confirm whether Sophocles’ semantic analysis of the term remains tenable.

How frequent was the word *διάλεκτος* in Ancient and Byzantine Greek? A search in the *TLG* reveals that it occurs about 3000 times in the extant Ancient and Byzantine Greek texts included in this database, containing more than 110 million words. *TLG*’s useful statistics tool demonstrates that the word is, by far, most frequently used in the second century AD, with the corpus of the grammarian (pseudo-)Aelius Herodianus leading the charts. The 12<sup>th</sup>-century *Etymologicum magnum* has the most single-work occurrences.<sup>14</sup>

Table 1. Meanings of *διάλεκτος* according to LSJ and *DGE*.<sup>15</sup>

LSJ		DGE	
Meaning	Examples from	Meaning	Examples from
		acción, acto de hablar	Hp., Arist.
discourse, conversation	Hp., Pl.	conversación, charla, diálogo	Pl., Arist., Plu.
discussion, debate, argument	Pl.	discusión, debate	Pl.
common language, talk	Arist.	la lengua corriente o usual	Arist., Phld.
speech, language	Ar., Antiph., Hermipp.	lenguaje, lengua	Democr., Ar., Antiph., Pl., Hermipp.
articulate speech, language (opp. <i>φωνή</i> )	Arist.	lenguaje articulado	Arist., Gal.
spoken, opp. written language	D.H.	lengua hablada op. lengua escrita	D.H.

<sup>12</sup> LSJ (1996), p. 401.

<sup>13</sup> SOPHOCLES (1900), p. 365. TRAPP *et al.* (1994-2017) and LAMPE (1961) omit the term *διάλεκτος*.

<sup>14</sup> The search in the *TLG* database, <<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/>>, was conducted on January 24, 2018, just like the statistical analysis.

<sup>15</sup> For the purpose of comparison, Table 1 also includes the meanings offered and the authors quoted by the *Diccionario Griego-Español* (*DGE*), <<http://dge.cchs.csic.es/xdge/>> (last accessed January 24, 2018). The meanings of the *DGE* have been reordered so as to put each of them next to its LSJ equivalent (if it exists).

the language of a country, esp. dialect, as Ionic, Attic, etc.	Plb., D.S., Diog.Bab., D.H., S.E., Hdn.	lengua de un país / dialecto	Plb., D.S., Plu., D.C., Clem.Al., LXX, Act. Ap., Hymn.Is., PMasp. / Str., Clem.Al., Phld., Paus., Aristid.Quint., Tz., Ath., Gal., D.H., S.E., Hdn.Gr., Orac.Sib., Eus.
local word or expression	Plu.	palabra, voz, término extranjero o dialectal	Plu., Diog.Bab., Sch. Ar.
way of speaking, accent	D.	modo, manera de hablar	D., Plu.
in plural: modes of expression	Epicur.	plu. modos o tipos de expresión	Epicur.
style, esp. poetical diction	D.H., Phld.	estilo	Phld., D.H.
of musical instruments: quality, 'idiom'	Arist.	mús. de instrumentos: modo propio de sonar, timbre	Arist.

### 3. *Διάλεκτος*, dialectos, dialectus: some rare attestations in pre-1500 Latin texts

Whereas the word *διάλεκτος* occurs about 3000 times in the extant Greek text corpus, there are only a handful of instances in Latin texts composed before 1500.<sup>16</sup> I have thus far encountered passages containing the term in the work of at least 17 different authors, which I have gathered in Table 2. It contains all instances found in Brepols' online Latin databases, to which I have added relevant passages I discovered elsewhere.<sup>17</sup> The list does not contain early modern editions of ancient testimonies (see section 4). As Table 2 indicates, there are three forms in which the word can appear:

- (1) the original Greek form: *διάλεκτος*, occurring in five authors,
- (2) a transcription into the Latin alphabet – the nominative singular is *dialectos*, the <χ> being rendered by a <c> –, occurring in nine authors,
- (3) a Latinized form, normally as *dialectus*, a noun of the second declension. This occurs in seven to nine authors, depending on the reading of Quint., *Inst.* 1.5.29 and a passage in Pietro Paolo Pompilio's (c. 1455-1491) notes on the antiquity of the Latin language of c. 1485.

<sup>16</sup> See LEPSCHY (2002), p. 36.

<sup>17</sup> See *Brepolis Cross Database Searchtool*, <<http://clt.brepolis.net/cds/Default.aspx>>, last accessed September 12, 2017. I quote from the editions included in this database, unless mentioned otherwise.

Table 2. The term διάλεκτος/dialectos/dialectus in the work of pre-1500 Latin authors.

Period <sup>18</sup>	Author, work and passage	Latin quote	G[reek] T[ranscribed] L[atinized]?
1 <sup>st</sup> cent.	Quint., <i>Inst.</i> 1.5.29	<i>loquendi genera, quas dialectus / dialectos uocant</i>	T or L
1 <sup>st</sup> cent.	Quint., <i>Inst.</i> 9.4.18	<i>In Herodoto uero cum omnia ... leniter fluunt, tum ipsa dialectos habet eam iucunditatem</i>	T
early 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent.	Suet., <i>Tib.</i> 56.1	<i>Xenonem quendam exquisitius sermocinantem cum interrogasset, quatenam illa tam molesta dialectos esset, et ille respondisset Doridem, relegauit Cinariam</i>	T
c. 117-138	Vel. Long., cf. Keil (1880), p. 51	<i>secundum diuersas dialectos [id est linguas] enuntiari</i>	L (but glossed)
2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> cent.	Porph., <i>Hor. carm.</i> 2.13.23-25 <sup>19</sup>	<i>Sappho Aeolid[a]e dialecto in carminibus suis usa est</i>	L
2 <sup>nd</sup> -4 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Prob., <i>Verg. ecl. praef.</i> 326.25, cf. Wendel (1914), p. 4	<i>Bucolica Theocritus facilius uidetur fecisse, quoniam Graecus sermo sic uidetur diuisus, ut Doris dialectos, qua ille [sc. Theocritus] scripsit, rustica habeatur</i>	T
3 <sup>rd</sup> cent.	Ter. Maur., v. 649, cf. Keil (1874), p. 344	<i>Aeolica dialectos autem mixta ferme est Italiae</i>	T
2 <sup>nd</sup> half of 4 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Hier., <i>Quaest. Hebr. in Gen.</i> , p. 15, 1	<i>Aeolis ..., quam illi uocant πέμπτῃν διάλεκτον</i> <sup>20</sup>	G

<sup>18</sup> The testimonies, all AD, are arranged chronologically. When the chronology is unclear, the order is alphabetical. The dates refer to the approximate period of composition.

<sup>19</sup> See also PORPH., *Hor. carm.* 3.30.13-14; 4.3.12; 4.9.11-12. The text was rewritten at the end of the eighth century or later; see SCHMIDT (2001). It is therefore impossible to determine whether Porphyrio himself used the word *dialectus*. It remains nevertheless more likely that Porphyrio introduced the term into his text himself, as it was not common for medieval scholars to know it.

<sup>20</sup> This passage is quoted by BEDA VENERABILIS (672/673-735), *Libri quatuor in principium Genesis usque ad natiuitatem Isaac et electionem Ismahelis adnotationum*, 3.10.

5 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Pseudoacro, <i>Scholia in Horatium</i> , cf. Keller (1967), p. 178	<i>Sappho poetria de &lt;A&gt;eolia fuit, dialecto in carminibus suis usa, quam chordarum significatione commemorat</i>	L
c. 8 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Char. gramm., p. 389, 18	<i>Sermo omnium gentium est, loquela cuiusque gentis propria dialectos</i>	T
c. 840-877	Johannes Scotus Eriugena, cf. Keil (1868), p. 623	<i>Eiusdem [sc. Doricae] sunt dialecti et quae in εν exeunt, ut ἀπὸ τοῦ νοεῖν νοέν et ἀπὸ τοῦ δασμηφορεῖν δασμηφορέν</i>	L
c. 1268	Bacon, cf. Nolan / Hirsch (1902), p. 148, 150	<i>iuxta Ionicam διαλεκτον [sic]; communi dialecto; secundum communem dialecton</i>	G, L & T
1444	Valla, cf. Zippel (1982), p. 526-527	<i>cum 'dialectos' quinque linguarum (quae apud Graecos sunt) genera complectatur</i> <sup>21</sup>	T
1473	Filelfo, cf. Tavoni (1984), p. 282	<i>uidemus apud Graecos eam quae ex quinque linguis, quas διαλέκτους, dialectus, uocant, κοινή, coene, hoc est, communis, nominatur</i> <sup>22</sup>	G & T
1485	Pompilio, cf. Tavoni (1984), p. 300	<i>Sed et Graeci suam puram et inuiolatam dialectim [or dialectum / dialexim?] ab incursionibus Turcae exterarumque linguarum collusione seruare non potuerunt</i>	L as dialectis or dialectus?
1485/1486 (vii) & (?)1491/1492 (iii) <sup>23</sup>	Codro (1502), sig. F.v <sup>R</sup> , M.ii <sup>R</sup>	<i>Atque difficile et arduum est peregrinam linguam quinque dialectos habentem ediscere. (vii) Sermone autem tam uario et tam multiplici usus est, ut ex omni Graecorum dialecto characteres miscuerit. Sunt enim Graecorum dialecti seu linguae quinque [...]. (iii)</i>	L

<sup>21</sup> This passage is absent from later redactions. Cf. TAVONI in BENVOLGIENTI (1975), p. 90, n. 55; TROVATO (1984), p. 212-213, 226.

<sup>22</sup> See TAVONI (1984), p. 185; TROVATO (1984), p. 207-208. See, e.g., also Filelfo's Greek letters, DE KEYSER (2015), p. 686.

<sup>23</sup> For the years of composition of Codro's *Sermones*, see ROSA (1983).



1486/1487	Poliziano (1553), p. 479	<i>Vtraque ... linguis ... ex omnibus, quas διαλέκτους Graeci uocant, conflata est.</i>	G
1490	Sabellicus (1490), fol. 64 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Dialectos: loquendi idioma: est enim dialectos linguae proprietates; ... est enim αρχιδις διαλεκτος [sic] Actica lingua.</i>	G & T
1493	Beroaldo (1493), fol. 138 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Loquendi genera Graeci dialectos uocant ut docet Quintilianus in primo.</i>	L

Let us look at the fate of the word in Latin texts before 1500. The form of the earliest appearance of the term in Quint., *Inst.* 1.5.29, is highly problematic:

*Cuius difficilior apud Graecos observatio est, quia plura illis loquendi genera, quas dialectus / dialectos<sup>24</sup> uocant, et quod alias uitiosum, interim alias rectum est.*

Most manuscripts of Quintilian's (c. 35-100 AD) text read *dialectus*, a transcription of the Greek accusative plural διαλέκτους into the Latin alphabet. Consequently, this is the form appearing in many modern editions such as the ones by Winterbottom and Cousin.<sup>25</sup> Radermacher has changed *dialectus* into διαλέκτους, but this is not found in the oldest manuscripts, from which all others derive (as Winterbottom's and Cousin's introductions show).<sup>26</sup>

It seems most plausible that Quintilian originally wrote the transcribed accusative plural form *dialectus*, since he employs the transcribed nominative singular form *dialectos* elsewhere, at *Inst.* 9.14.18, where he ascribes *iucunditas* to Herodotus' style (see Table 2). In addition, the verbal form *uocant* clearly implies that Quintilian regards the word as Greek rather than Latin. One ninth-century testimony, manuscript *Ambrosianus E. 153 sup.*, has Latinized *dialectos*.<sup>27</sup> This reading is rare in the extant manuscripts, but was, as we will see, common in early modern printed editions of Quintilian's work. Two Quattrocento testimonies in the work of Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481) and Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494) clearly resonate Quintilian's wording, while one author, Filippo Beroaldo the Elder (1453-1505), even explicitly refers to it (see Table 2).

All seven Quattrocento attestations of the term in Latin texts stem from Italian authors. This indicates that the seed for the establishment of the term *dialectus* in the Latin lexicon was sown during the Italian Renaissance,<sup>28</sup> and in

<sup>24</sup> These are the two readings in the manuscripts: see WINTERBOTTOM (1970), p. 33.

<sup>25</sup> WINTERBOTTOM (1970), p. 33; COUSIN (1975), p. 94.

<sup>26</sup> RADERMACHER (1965), p. 32.

<sup>27</sup> *Siglum A* in WINTERBOTTOM (1970), p. xxv.

<sup>28</sup> ALINEI (1984); TROVATO (1984).

humanist circles in which more radical forms of Ciceronianism were rejected.<sup>29</sup> One and the same author can vacillate between two or all three of the above-mentioned guises of the word. The English Franciscan friar Roger Bacon (c. 1220 – c. 1292), for instance, uses all three forms, whereas Filelfo and Marcus Antonius Sabellicus (1436-1506) employ both the Greek and transcribed forms.

Pompilio might have Latinized *διάλεκτος* as the third declension noun *dialectis* (nominative singular).<sup>30</sup> If so, the ending might have been adapted so as to classify the word in the Latin third declension because of the original feminine gender of the Greek word, which he might have perceived as not fitting into the Latin second declension. Another possibility is that *dialectis* was the result of a confusion between *dialectos* (*διάλεκτος*) and *dialexis* (*διᾱλεξις*). Indeed, Neo-Latin *dialexis* has *dialexim* (or *dialexin*) as its accusative singular. From there, it is only a small step to argue that the copyist mistakenly took *dialexim* for *dialectim*. Likewise plausible is that Pompilio wrote *dialectum*, but the copyist mistakenly rendered it as *dialectim*. It is, in sum, impossible to assert with certainty that Pompilio Latinized *διάλεκτος*.

The word seems to have had one basic meaning in most of these pre-1500 Latin texts: ‘variety of the Greek language.’ With one exception, pseudo-Flavius Sosipater Charisius (fl. 8<sup>th</sup> century), all instances listed in Table 2 refer to the Ancient Greek context. Several authors, such as Quintilian, were fully acquainted with the literary status of the Greek dialects and, consequently, associated the term with literary style. Pseudo-Charisius, the exception just mentioned, uses the transcribed nominative singular *dialectos* in a general remark on the distinction between the Latin terms *sermo* and *loquela*, claiming that “*sermo* is of all peoples, *loquela* is each people’s own ‘dialect.’” One might wonder how using a rare and technical Greek term could possibly help to explain the difference between two Latin words belonging to the same semantic field, especially during the early Middle Ages. Whatever the case, *dialectos* figures here in a phrase conveying the meaning ‘specific language of a certain people’ as opposed to *sermo*, which is interpreted as the universal human capacity of speech.

In conclusion, the rarity of the Latinized term *dialectus* together with the inconstancy of its form – in order of frequency: transcribed *dialectos*, Latinized *dialectus*, Greek *διάλεκτος* – clearly indicates that the word never was an established metalinguistic term in pre-Cinquecento Latin. It is best regarded as a Neo-Latin borrowing from Ancient Greek, even though no early modern scholar conceived of it as such, as I will demonstrate now.

<sup>29</sup> See ROSA (1983) for the more liberal stylistic attitudes of Codro and Beroaldo.

<sup>30</sup> See also TAVONI (1984), p. 184-185; TROVATO (1984), p. 208.

#### 4. Quintilian's heritage: how *dialectus* became a naturalized Latin word

How then did *dialectus* become a naturalized Latin word, considering its rarity before 1500?<sup>31</sup> The anchoring of the term into the Latin metalinguistic lexicon was a gradual and complex process, which I aim to untangle in this and the following sections. The textual history of Quint., *Inst.* 1.5.29 plays an essential role here, as this passage wrongly led many influential Neo-Latin authors to regard *dialectus* as an 'approved' ancient Latin word, thus fostering its naturalization.

The first printed instance of Latinized *dialectus* seems to occur in the third incunabulum edition of Quint., *Inst.*, published on May 21, 1471 by Nicolas Jenson (c. 1420-1480). The text was prepared by Omnibonus Leonicensus (1412-1474). In this edition, *Inst.* 1.5.29 reads Latinized *dialectos* (accusative plural of *dialectus*) and not transcribed *dialectus* (accusative plural of *dialectos*), appearing in most manuscripts and modern editions, or Greek διαλέκτους, the reading of two earlier incunabula of 1470. As Table 3 shows, at least four later Quattrocento editions – the latest of which, that of Raphael Regius (c. 1440-1520), would be the *textus receptus* for several decades –, took over the Latinized form *dialectos*. This particular reading would be of paramount importance for the interpretation of *dialectus* as a genuine ancient Latin word and – consequently – for its integration into the Renaissance Latin lexicon. It most certainly catalyzed this process, if it did not trigger it altogether, as I aim to demonstrate in what follows.

Table 3. Quint., *Inst.* 1.5.29 in the most important incunabula.

Date	Place	Printer(s)	Editor	Reading
August 3, 1470	Rome	[Giovanni Filippo de Lignamine]	Giovanni Antonio Campano	διαλεκτους [sic]
1470 <sup>32</sup>	Rome	Conrad Sweynheim / Arnold Pannartz	Giovanni Andrea Bussi	διαλεκτους [sic]
May 21, 1471	[Venice]	Nicolaus Jenson	Omnibonus Leonicensus	<i>dialectos</i>
June 9, 1476	Milan	Antonius Zarothus	?	<i>dialectos</i>
October 22, 1482		Dionysius Bononien- sis / Peregrinus [de Pasqualibus]	Andreas Ponticus	<i>dialectos</i>
July 17, 1493	Venice	Bonetus Locatellus	Raphael Regius	<i>dialectos</i>

<sup>31</sup> On Greek loanwords in Latin in general, see RAMMINGER (2014), p. 31-33, who points out that the process of Neo-Latin borrowing from Greek is in need of a closer investigation. The present contribution can be taken to respond to this call.

<sup>32</sup> The precise date of this edition is unknown. Consequently, it may have been printed before that of Lignamine. Lignamine's edition is believed to be of a better quality than that of Sweinheim and Pannartz, see ALAIMO (1988).

Ten months before Latinized *dialectus* was first printed, the transcribed form had already appeared in the *editio princeps* of Suetonius' *De uita Caesarum* (published August 1470). It was printed as *dyalectos*, with the remarkable rendering of the Greek iota by means of the letter <y>. The grapheme <y> (the y *Graecum*!) may have been used by the editor with the precise purpose of emphasizing the Greek origin of the term. It is, however, more likely to be due to the common <y>/<i> alternation in Renaissance Latin orthography.<sup>33</sup> A sample investigation reveals that most later Quattrocento editions of Suetonius' *De uita Caesarum* read the transcribed form *dialectos* with the etymologically correct <i>.<sup>34</sup> Interestingly, it is also in a commentary on Suetonius where, to the best of my knowledge, the earliest printed instance of Latinized *dialectus* appears, if one excludes editions of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*. For Beroaldo states in his paraphrase of Suet., *Tib.* 56.1 that *Rhodii Dorica dialecto et lingua loquuntur*.<sup>35</sup> His usage of the Latinized term *dialectus* is clearly inspired by Quint., *Inst.* 1.5.29, since he refers to this passage at the very beginning of his commentary on Suetonius' usage of transcribed *dialectos* (see Table 2). Note that Beroaldo does not yet oppose *dialectus* to *lingua*, but simply juxtaposes them, seemingly as synonyms. This terminological-conceptual opposition would only happen in the first decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>36</sup>

As a consequence of the Renaissance textual tradition of Quint., *Inst.* 1.5.29, many humanists did not take the term *dialectus* as an 'addition' to the Neo-Latin lexicon, but as a genuine Latin word that Quintilian had already borrowed from Greek and adapted to Latin morphology.<sup>37</sup> This assumption was most certainly encouraged by its inclusion in the successful 1502 Latin dictionary of Ambrogio Calepino (c. 1435/36/40-1510/11), which "was a response to the new printed dissemination of classical Latin texts, and aimed to document their vocabulary while excluding that of the post-classical world."<sup>38</sup> Calepino clearly made use of Beroaldo's commentary on Suetonius (see Table 2) and probably

<sup>33</sup> MINKOVA (2014), p. 1122.

<sup>34</sup> E.g., DE'BUSSI (1470); JENSON (1471); ROSSO (1480).

<sup>35</sup> BEROALDO (1493), fol. 138<sup>v</sup>. Codro had already used Latinized *dialectus* orally before Beroaldo's commentary was published, but his *Sermones* were only printed posthumously in 1502, see Table 2.

<sup>36</sup> See VAN ROOY (2017), p. 86-103 for this complex process.

<sup>37</sup> A borrowing or loanword refers to a word borrowed from one language (donor language) to another (borrowing language) and accommodated to the native phonology and morphology of the borrowing language (German: *Lehnwort*). A loanword can eventually have derivatives of its own, contrary to a *Fremdwort*, which "retains (broadly) its foreign-language pronunciation and may show non-native morphology ..., and does not give rise to new derivatives within the borrowing language" (DURKIN [2009], p. 139). For the relevant terms and concepts, and for the mechanism of lexical borrowing in general, see also DURKIN (2009), p. 132-178, (2014), p. 8-11.

<sup>38</sup> CONSIDINE (2008), p. 29.

also of a Quintilian edition reading Latinized *dialectos*. His lemma for the word reads as follows:

*Dialectos Graeci uocant loquendi genera, sicuti docet Quintil.li.I., quae apud illos quinque sunt, scilicet Ionica, Dorica, Attica, Aeolica et communis lingua.*<sup>39</sup>

While not being blind to the Greek origin of the term, Calepino is nevertheless clearly adopting the term in its Latinized form, *dialectus*, here in the accusative plural *dialectos*. Contrary to what Alinei and Binotti assert,<sup>40</sup> *dialectos* cannot be viewed as a transcribed form of Greek διᾱλεκτος (nominative singular). This interpretation poses serious syntactical problems to the structure of the lemma itself, as the double accusative structure with the verb *uocare* requires both *genera* and *dialectos* to be accusative plural forms.<sup>41</sup> Besides, Calepino offers lemmas in the accusative plural elsewhere (see, e.g., *s. u.* ‘*publicanus*’). Even more, he uses the nominative plural of the Latinized form, *dialecti*, in his explanation of *idioma*, which he regards as a synonym of *dialectus*.

The inclusion of the term *dialectus* in Calepino’s widely distributed, ‘approved Latin’-oriented dictionary, motivated by the view that it was part of Quintilian’s vocabulary, seems to have substantially contributed to making it acceptable in (Neo-)Latin. In Calepino’s footsteps, the term figures in many other 16<sup>th</sup>-century Latin dictionaries.<sup>42</sup>

##### 5. *The unstraightforward establishment of dialectus in the Latin lexicon*

How did usage of the second declension noun *dialectus* spread across learned Europe and through which channels? What authors, cities, and regions occupied a prominent position in this process? These questions imply that the acceptance of the term *dialectus* into (Neo-)Latin did not occur overnight, much less everywhere at the same time. Even more, a number of scholars avoided the word. Strict Ciceronians, for instance, refused to employ it for obvious reasons: it did not occur in Cicero’s extant writings. As a result, the ‘intralinguistic borrowing’ of the term, i.e. its spread among users of Latin, seems to have occurred relatively slowly.<sup>43</sup> To demonstrate this, let us briefly look at the active usage of

<sup>39</sup> CALEPINO (1502), *s. u.* ‘*dialectus*.’

<sup>40</sup> ALINEI (1984), p. 173-174; BINOTTI (1995), p. 54, n. 18.

<sup>41</sup> Transcribed Greek terms occur in the dictionary, but always in a syntactically plausible context (e.g., *s. u.* ‘*demos*’).

<sup>42</sup> See, e.g., DASYPODIUS (1535), *s. u.* ‘*dialectos*’ (transcribed); ELIOT (1538), *s. u.* ‘*dialectus*’ (Latinized). Eliot aimed to record ‘approved’ Latin usage, see CONSIDINE (2008), p. 130, 156. It is likely that Dasypodius – much like Alinei and Binotti – misinterpreted Calepino’s *dialectus* entry as the transcription of the Greek word rather than as an accusative plural. This also occurs in the later *Calepinus* tradition itself, since 1559 at the latest: e.g., CALEPINO (1559), fol. 146<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> See DURKIN (2009), p. 164-165 for intralinguistic borrowing.

the term in printed books during the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. By ‘active usage’ I mean the usage of early modern scholars in original works of their own. This excludes Latin translations of Greek works and (quotes from) editions of Quintilian’s text containing the Latinized reading. Needless to say, the following overview is incomplete and tentative due to the very limited searchability of 16<sup>th</sup>-century books and the lack of full-fledged Neo-Latin corpora.

Until 1518, *dialectus* seems to have been largely confined to the north of the Italian peninsula. An isolated instance outside of Italy can be dated to the end of 1509, when it occurs in a Latin preface written by Jakob Locher (1471-1528), a humanist from Ehingen (Baden-Württemberg), who had travelled to Italy in the early 1490s. To Locher, *dialectus* seems to have had the meaning of ‘language,’ ‘manner of speaking,’ or ‘style.’<sup>44</sup> The definitive spread of the word outside of Italy, however, took off only in 1518. In May of that year, it turns up in Philipp Melanchthon’s (1497-1560) Greek grammar, which mentions Tübingen (title page) as well as Hagenau (colophon) as its places of publication, both cities in the German *Sprachraum* at that time. One year later, a definition of *dialectus* occurs in a revised and augmented edition of Erasmus’ (1466/67/69-1536) notes on the New Testament, more specifically in his commentary on *Acta Apostolorum* 2.8.<sup>45</sup> These were also published in German-speaking territory: Basel. That same city witnessed in 1522 the publication of Vives’ (1492/93-1540) edition of Augustine’s *De ciuitate Dei*. His commentary accompanying this text contains an inflected form of *dialectus*.<sup>46</sup> In the same year and city, Jakob Ceporin’s (c. 1499/1500-1525) Greek grammar was published, which also contains multiple instances of Latinized *dialectus*.<sup>47</sup>

In 1524, the Latinized form occurs in Justus Jonas’ (1493-1555) notes on *Acta Apostolorum* 2.6, but only in the Wittenberg and not in the Augsburg edition.<sup>48</sup> Jonas’ and Erasmus’ testimonies suggest that commenting on the Greek text of *Acta Apostolorum* 2 and translating it into Latin contributed to Latinizing *διάλεκτος*. In 1525, the term *dialectus*, apparently in the meaning of ‘particular manner of speaking,’ occurs twice in Matthaeus Aurogallus’ (Matthäus Goldhahn; 1490-1543) Hebrew grammar, published at Wittenberg, to refer to the ‘Chaldean’ used in the Old Testament books of Daniel and Ezra as well as to Biblical Hebrew.<sup>49</sup> We also know that Martin Luther (1483-1546) actively used the word *dialectus* during his table talks in the years 1530-1545, this in spite of

<sup>44</sup> LOCHER (1509), sig. ¶.v<sup>v</sup>. The preface also reoccurs in later editions of the work.

<sup>45</sup> ERASMUS (1519b), p. 202.

<sup>46</sup> VIVES (1522), p. 398.

<sup>47</sup> E.g., CEPORIN (1522), sig. A.iii<sup>ii</sup><sup>R</sup>, A.viii<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> Compare JONAS (1524a), sig. B.iii<sup>ii</sup><sup>v</sup>, with JONAS (1524b), sig. B.3<sup>R</sup>. In the Augsburg edition, the term is offered in the Greek form of the original New Testament passage (διάλεκτος).

<sup>49</sup> AUROGALLUS (1525), sig. E.vii<sup>v</sup>, G.iii<sup>ii</sup><sup>R</sup>. The edition of 1523 lacks the word *dialectus*. It goes too far to state, with DEMONET (1992), p. 28, that Aurogallus considered ‘Chaldean’ a dialect of Hebrew, since he also applies the term *dialectus* to Hebrew.

the fact that his knowledge of Greek was rudimentary, at best.<sup>50</sup> In 1530, the term appears prominently on the title page of the first booklet on the Greek dialects to be ever printed separately: *De dialectis diuersis declinationum Graecanicarum tam in uerbis quam nominibus*, printed in Paris and authored by Adrien Amerot (c. 1495-1560), a Hellenist from Soissons, but mainly active in the southern Low Countries. The booklet was an excerpt from his Greek grammar published in 1520 in Louvain, which still lacked the term *dialectus*. This suggests that, in 1520, it had not yet been naturalized in Latin usage in the Low Countries. In the early thirties of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, *dialectus* is found in two works by Vives, both printed in the southern Low Countries: in Antwerp and Louvain.<sup>51</sup> In 1537, the word appears on the Iberian peninsula, when Francisco de Vergara († 1545) employs it in his Greek grammar, the first to be published in Spain. It was printed in Alcalá de Henares, where in 1508 a *collegium trilingue* had been founded. A year after Vergara, Thomas Eliot (c. 1490-1546) included *dialectus* in his Latin–English *Dictionary*, which was modeled on the *Calepinus*.

Consequently, by 1538, Latinized *dialectus* had spread to large parts of Western Europe and had become known in the most important intellectual centers. In many but certainly not all cases, it is used to refer to the Ancient Greek dialects. The word most likely disseminated across Western Europe in various ways and principally through

- (1) the circulation of printed books (e.g., the works mentioned above and their reissues; editions of Quint., *Inst.*; Latin dictionaries such as Calepino's; Latin translations of treatises on the Greek dialects and of other works containing the term διὰλεκτος),
- (2) learned conversations (e.g., between traveling scholars or at Luther's table), and
- (3) centers of Greek learning and teaching, which attracted students from miles away and in which *dialectus* was in oral use, as in Bologna, where the humanist Antonio Urceo 'Codro' (1446-1500) lectured on Greek (see Table 2), and in Alcalá de Henares, where Francisco de Vergara was professor of Greek at the local university.

In brief, the term was transmitted through a network of texts and influential humanist scholars such as Melanchthon, Erasmus, Vives, and Luther. These circumstances no doubt greatly contributed to the naturalization of *dialectus* as a Neo-Latin word. Alinei thus carries matters too far when stating that Calepino's (certainly not unimportant) dictionary was "il veicolo più importante per la diffusione della parola nell'Europa 'latina' del Rinascimento."<sup>52</sup>

<sup>50</sup> KROKER (1916), p. 78; (1919), p. 511. Luther mentions his lack of competence in Greek himself, see KROKER (1913), p. 639.

<sup>51</sup> See VIVES (1531), fol. 97<sup>v</sup>, 107<sup>v</sup>, and VIVES (1533), sig. x.iii<sup>v</sup>, respectively.

<sup>52</sup> ALINEI (1984), p. 174.



Which other factors contributed to the acceptance and establishment of *dialectus* as an ‘approved’ Latin word? I argue that there are at least three additional circumstances. Firstly, Moreno Fernández has rightly contended that the coining of Neo-Latin *dialectus* must be framed within the rediscovery of the Ancient Greek heritage and the flourishing of Hellenism in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, during which many Greek words were borrowed into Latin.<sup>53</sup> This is connected with the prestige attached to the Greek language.<sup>54</sup> The appropriation of Greek scholarship was indeed of key importance, all the more since the term was almost exclusively used to describe varieties of the Ancient Greek language at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Put differently, the adoption of the word was probably a question of borrowing the necessary terminology into the scholarly lingua franca of the Renaissance.<sup>55</sup> Indeed, it allowed Neo-Latin authors to talk about the Ancient Greek language and its different literary dialects, a phenomenon absent from Latin literature. It is, in fact, not implausible that early modern scholars were resorting to a Greek word because they wanted to denote a concept that, according to a widespread belief, simply did not apply to the Latin language.<sup>56</sup> This probably also explains, at least in part, why classical Latin authors had not felt the need to introduce the term into their metalinguistic apparatus. The above implies that, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, a lack of competence in Greek tended to obstruct usage of the word *dialectus*.<sup>57</sup> Luther is an important exception, but he was surrounded by many prominent Hellenists, including most notably Melanchthon.

Secondly, the introduction of the term *dialectus* went hand in hand with a “classifying abstractive process,” which, according to Helander,

“results in the organization and structuring of the chaotic world that meets our senses. An explicit manifestation of this intellectual activity is the coining of words and expressions [*or, in our case, the borrowing of a word*] that divide and subdivide things and phenomena into genus and species, classes and orders in any kind of hierarchical system.”<sup>58</sup>

It is justified to link this process of ‘categorization’ to the increasing early modern interest in linguistic diversity and kinship, which led scholars from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards to map out (often hierarchical) relationships between different language varieties, culminating in such works as Conrad Gessner’s (1516–1565) *Mithridates* (1555), a catalogue describing the languages and dialects of the then known world. Some forms of speech were seen as completely unrelated to each

<sup>53</sup> MORENO FERNÁNDEZ (2008), p. 183.

<sup>54</sup> See DURKIN (2009), p. 142–143 for borrowing and prestige.

<sup>55</sup> See DURKIN (2009), p. 142–145 on borrowing and ‘need.’

<sup>56</sup> On the early modern idea that Latin had no dialects, see VAN ROOY (2017), p. 263–265.

<sup>57</sup> E.g., SEXAGIUS (1576).

<sup>58</sup> HELANDER (2014), p. 45.

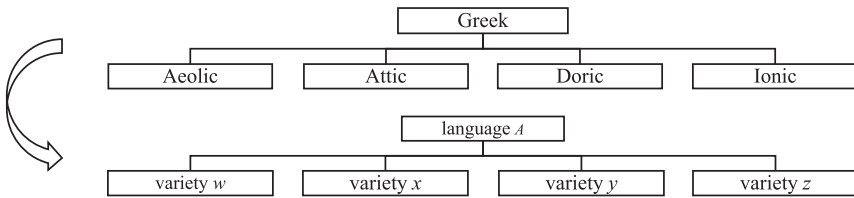


Figure 1. The Ancient Greek dialect context as a conceptual model.

other, whereas others were perceived as exhibiting different degrees of kinship. In this context, some varieties were regarded as being so similar that they could be said to belong to one and the same language. Here, analogical reasoning seems to have done the rest, as this last situation is likely to have reminded Renaissance scholars of Ancient Greek dialectal variation (see Figure 1), all the more since a thorough study of this language was a constitutive part of the ideal humanist education. This process of taking the Ancient Greek dialect context as a conceptual prototype for analyzing the relationship among other language varieties is likely to have stimulated scholars to Latinize *διάλεκτος*.

Thirdly, the introduction of *dialectus* may have been triggered by a desire to put an end to the proliferation of Latin terms and phrases to refer to variation within a language. In particular, some early modern scholars might have regarded *dialectus* as a more ‘economic’ terminological option. On the one hand, most alternatives, such as *proprietas*, *idioma*, and *sermo*, could also express other concepts or might have been regarded as being too vague. Paradoxically, this did not prevent scholars from using the term *dialectus* often in a flexible way (see section 7). On the other hand, *dialectus* was simply much shorter than many periphrastic descriptions such as *proprietas linguae* or *idioma loquendi*. This third factor nevertheless remains somewhat speculative, all the more since the acceptance of *dialectus* into Latin did not end the terminological proliferation altogether.

As stressed above, the integration of the term *dialectus* into the Neo-Latin lexicon did not happen overnight. Even more, there was much hesitation and insecurity. In 1525, for instance, *dialectus* (= *διάλεκτος*), the accusative plural of transcribed *dialectos*, is mistakenly replaced by *delectus*, a more familiar Latin word.<sup>59</sup> This error is likely to be ascribed to the typesetter (and the negligent corrector) rather than to the author.<sup>60</sup> The hesitation is also clear from the fact that many humanists ‘flirted,’ so to speak, with the Greek form of the word.

<sup>59</sup> PAGNINO (1525), sig. 8.ii<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> Six years later, Latinized *dialecto* (dative singular) is wrongly printed in RHE-  
NANUS (1531), p. 111 as *catalecto*, which is corrected by the author in the revised edition  
of the work (RHE-  
NANUS [1551], p. 117). Sometimes, the word exhibits morphological  
oddities. See, e.g., the genitive plural form *dialectarum*, ALBERTUS (1573), sig. a.4<sup>r</sup>.

Let us take a look at the usage of renowned scholars such as the Venetian printer Aldus Manutius (c. 1449/51-1515), Erasmus, and Melanchthon.

In 1496, Manutius did not yet use the term *dialectus* at all when discussing Ancient Greek and Italian dialectal variation in his preface to the *Thesaurus cornu copiae et horti Adonidis*, which contains three Greek treatises that would become the 'dialectological canon' in early modernity.<sup>61</sup> In 1512, Manutius reissued these treatises as an appendix to Constantine Lascaris' (1434-1501) grammar and provided them with a Latin translation. It is revealing to perceive how Manutius systematically avoids using the term *dialectus* in his 'own' humanist Latin,<sup>62</sup> whereas he does introduce it into his translations of the Greek treatises.<sup>63</sup> This might have been triggered by the fact that, when making a translation, one can be inclined to use a term already present in the source text and language, although adapting it to the morphology of the borrowing language. Still, Manutius' usage indicates that he did not feel very comfortable writing Latinized *dialectus* in original work of his own.

The hesitation of Melanchthon and Erasmus manifests itself in a different form. Both scholars vacillate between the original Greek term, its transcribed version (in all possible cases), and the Latinized form. Melanchthon even does so within one and the same work, his Greek grammar of 1518, and sometimes even on one and the same page.<sup>64</sup> Even in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it is still not unusual for scholars to employ the term indiscriminately in its original Greek, transcribed, and Latinized forms.<sup>65</sup>

It seems to have taken more than half a century before the term gained complete acceptance in Neo-Latin. An indication of the fact that this evolution was unstraightforward is provided by some later editions of the *Calepinus*, which omit *dialectus* altogether.<sup>66</sup> The French printer Robert Estienne (1503-1559) too excludes *dialectus* from his *Dictionarium, seu Latinae linguae thesaurus*. Nonetheless, the following statement in a 1552 Greek-Latin dictionary seems to indicate that *dialectus* had become part of the Latin lexicon by the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century:

Διάλεκτος ου.δ. [sic] generis feminini apud Latinos, idioma, proprietas linguae, disputatio rerum, lingua ...<sup>67</sup>

<sup>61</sup> On these treatises, see, e.g., the appendix of TROVATO (1984).

<sup>62</sup> See, e.g., Manutius' preface in LASCARIS / MANUTIUS (1512), sig. x.i<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> See, e.g., LASCARIS / MANUTIUS (1512), sig. x.ii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> For the Greek term: e.g., ERASMUS (1517), p. 4, διάλεκτος; MELANCHTHON (1518), sig. a.i<sup>v</sup>, διαλέκτων. For the transcription: e.g., MELANCHTHON (1518), sig. b.iv<sup>v</sup>, *dialecton* (= διαλέκτων); ERASMUS (1519a), sig. A.ii<sup>v</sup>, *dialectos* (= διάλεκτος). For the Latinized form: e.g., MELANCHTHON (1518), sig. a.i<sup>v</sup>, *dialecti*; ERASMUS (1519b), p. 202, *dialectus* & *dialecti*.

<sup>65</sup> E.g., (DE) SAUMAISE (1643), p. 14, 28: διαλέκτων, *dialectis*, *dialecton* (= διάλεκτον).

<sup>66</sup> E.g., CALEPINO (1563).

<sup>67</sup> ARLENIUS *et al.* (1552), s. u. 'διάλεκτος.' Cf. RULAND / HOESCHEL (1589), containing a lemma for *dialectus*.

The above quote moreover indicates that although the grammatical gender of the Greek word was curiously masculinized in early modern dictionaries of Ancient Greek, this did nonetheless not influence the gender of the Neo-Latin term, which almost always has the feminine gender.<sup>68</sup>

As a side note, it can be added that the widespread tradition of masculinizing διάλεκτος remounts to the successful Greek–Latin lexicon of Giovanni Crastone (c. 1415–1490), the first one ever printed.<sup>69</sup> Crastone’s διάλεκτος lemma reads as follows:

διάλεκτος.ου.δ. *Idioma loquendi. Disputatio rerum. Lingua.*<sup>70</sup>

Crastone found this information in the manuscript lexica on which he relied.<sup>71</sup> The term was most likely masculinized according to the following faulty generalization: ‘Greek nouns ending in -ος are normally masculine. Consequently, διάλεκτος is also masculine.’ The masculinization of the Greek word was very prominent in 16<sup>th</sup>-century lexica.<sup>72</sup>

In brief, the conditions under which the term *dialectus* became fully integrated into the Latin lexicon are complex. I have outlined how several humanists regarded it as a genuine Latin word Quintilian had already Latinized from Ancient Greek διάλεκτος. It could be called, with the benefit of hindsight, a ‘pseudo-classical’ word.<sup>73</sup> Most indicative of this state of affairs is its inclusion in Calepino’s dictionary of approved Latin words. In spite of the above, *dialectus* should be regarded as a Neo-Latin borrowing from Ancient Greek, since none of the ‘approved’ ancient Latin authors actually used the Latinized term.<sup>74</sup>

## 6. The borrowing of dialectus into Western European vernacular languages

From about the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the word διάλεκτος / *dialectus* was gradually borrowed into the lexicon of vernacular languages and adapted to their morphology. Table 4 offers a chronological overview of the first instance of the word (traced thus far) in the most important vernaculars of early modern Western Europe: Spanish, Italian, French, English, Dutch, and

<sup>68</sup> There are only few exceptions. It is masculinized by, e.g., LAZIUS (1557), p. 168; HUNGER (1583), sig. B.i<sup>v</sup>; Raphelengius, cf. NAUWELAERTS / SUÉ (1983), p. 123 (if this is not a transcription error); GÉNÉBRARD (1585), p. 33 (interference from French might have played a role).

<sup>69</sup> BOTLEY (2010), p. 155.

<sup>70</sup> CRASTONE (1478), s. u. διάλεκτος.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. BOTLEY (2010), p. 64.

<sup>72</sup> Notable exceptions are GUILLÉN DE BROCAR (1514), sig. b.iii<sup>v</sup>–b.iv<sup>r</sup>, and ESTIENNE (1572), vol. 2, p. 618.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. LAMERS (2015) on the pseudo-classical “phantom word” *dicatura*.

<sup>74</sup> *Dialectus* is lacking from HOVEN (2006). RAMMINGER (2003) correctly provides a lemma for the term *dialectus* in his online Neo-Latin lexicon, but it is in need of an update.

German. It either refers to the Greek language (as in Italian and Spanish) or to varieties of the language adopting the term (as in French and German) or to both (as in English). Dutch is a particular case, as the term *dialect* first appears in a language-historical framework to refer to linguistic variation in the ‘Scythian’ family of related languages.<sup>75</sup>

Did the vernacular tongues borrow the term directly from Greek or via Neo-Latin? Moreno Fernández is hesitant for the case of Spanish.<sup>76</sup> He considers it plausible that the term was taken from Greek through another Romance language such as French or Italian, but he does remain open to the idea that it was adopted from Latin. I am inclined to believe, for several reasons, that the Western European vernacular tongues primarily drew on Latin *dialectus* and not directly on Greek *διᾱλεκτος*, although familiarity with the Greek term might have encouraged its borrowing, just like the example of other vernaculars.<sup>77</sup> The chronology outlined above allows for this hypothesis, as the first vernacularized instance of the term postdates its first active usage in Neo-Latin texts by about fifty years. What is more, although it is true that the term is prototypically employed to refer to the Ancient Greek linguistic context, the early modern metalanguage used to do so generally was Latin. Further, before the word was accommodated to the phonology and morphology of the borrowing vernacular language, Latin *dialectus* was already in use in vernacular texts as a *Fremdwort*. In that case, it is generally declined as a Latin word in accordance with its syntactical function in the sentence. The authors of the first printed grammar of Dutch, for instance, justify their view that Dutch is one single language by referring to Greek, which “also had its different ‘dialects’” (“óóck haar verscheyden *dialectos* had”).<sup>78</sup> This practice, by the way, continued long after the appearance of the vernacularized term.

Finally, three formal arguments suggest Latin as the main donor language, the last of which is the most compelling. First, there is the use of the grapheme <c> rather than <k> in, for example, Dutch (*dialect*). Second, the Italian treatment of [kt] as [tt] seems to reveal that this sound sequence was subject

<sup>75</sup> On the ‘Scythian theory,’ see, e.g., METCALF (2013), p. 34-39; DROIXHE (1980); SWIGGERS (1984), (1998); VILLANI (2003); CONSIDINE (2010); VAN HAL (2010a), esp. p. 335-401, 473-475; VAN HAL (2010b). In Central Europe, the term was introduced early on into Czech to refer to varieties of the Slavic language family. It occurs frequently in a manuscript grammatical treatise of the Protestant scholar Jan Blahoslav (1523-1571). The part in which Blahoslav uses the term *dialektus* (or *dyalektus*) is likely to have been written in the late sixties of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, see SELDESLACHTS / VAN ROOY (fc.).

<sup>76</sup> MORENO FERNÁNDEZ (2008), p. 183, 200.

<sup>77</sup> See DURKIN (2009), p. 165-167, for borrowing from several languages. Cf. LITTLETON (1678), sig. A.3<sup>v</sup>, where the lemma *dialect* is marked by an asterisk indicating “an immediate descent from the Latine.”

<sup>78</sup> [SPIEGHEL *et al.*] (1584), p. 110. For a German example, see Aurifaber’s German translation of Luther’s *Tischreden* at AURIFABER (1566), fol. 605<sup>r</sup>, where the Latin accusative plural *dialectos* is glossed as “art zu reden.”

to the same assimilation as genuine Latin words (such as *actum* > *atto*). This makes it more likely that Italian *dialetto* was directly borrowed from Latin (*dialectus*) rather than from Greek (διάλεκτος). Third, the accent of most vernacular terms seems to indicate that they were borrowed from Neo-Latin *dialectus* and not from Greek διάλεκτος (see the column ‘Language, term(s) & gender’ in Table 4).

Table 4. The first testimonies of vernacularized *dialectus* in Western Europe.<sup>79</sup>

Year	Language, term(s), gender	Testimony
1540	Spanish: <i>dialecto</i> & <i>dialeto</i> (m.)	Venegas de Busto (1540), fol. ccxxxii <sup>v</sup> : “No piensen que son ellos los ayos del verdadero sentido: como si no se entendiese la escriptura sagrada; si ellos no acudiessen conlos dialectos de su grecismo.” Although the term also occurs in later editions (1545), (1572), it seems to concern an isolated instance, which has thus far remained unnoticed. De Herrera (1580), p. 408, who provides the second attestation, has borrowed it independently as <i>dialéto</i> . Moreno Fernández (2008) offers an incomplete overview of the history of the term in Spanish.
1544	Italian: <i>dialetto</i> (m.)	Liburnio (1546), sig. a.7 <sup>v</sup> : “la dotta Grecia usava in commune cinque distintioni di lingue, come chiaramente siamo insegnati dalle scritture del greco Giovanni grammatico et dal dottissimo Plutarcho; ilquale chiama grecamente dialettò, cioè proprietà della lingua.” Liburnio had already finished his manuscript in 1544 or even earlier, cf. Trovato (1984), p. 211. Moreno Fernández (2008), p. 181 wrongly mentions Varchi (1570) as the first testimony in Italian. This passage does not allow to determine whether the word was masculine in Liburnio’s usage. However, with one important exception (Varchi [1570], p. 271, feminine), the word is normally masculine in the 16 <sup>th</sup> century and later, cf., e.g., Salviati (1588), p. 254; Germano (1622), p. 5.

<sup>79</sup> The underlining in the column ‘Language, term(s) & gender’ marks the stressed syllable. Note that LHUDY (1707), p. 222–223 borrows the word *dialect* into Cornish in the preface to his Cornish grammar.

1550	French: <i>dialecte</i> (m. & later also f., but eventually m. prevails)	(de) Ronsard (1550), fol. ✕ <sup>R</sup> : “Car tant s’en faut que je refuse les vocables picards, angevins, tourangeaus, mansseaus, lors qu’ils expriment un mot qui défaut en nostre françois, que si j’avoï parlé le naïf dialecte de Vandomois, je ne m’estimerai bani pour cela d’eloquence des Muses, imitateur de tous les poètes grecs qui ont ordinerement écrit en leurs livres le propre langage de leurs nations.”
1566	English: <i>dialect(e)</i> (NA)	Rastell (1566), fol. 64 <sup>v</sup> : “For (I trust) you meane not such differencies, as are made by reason of swiftnesse, slownesse, smothnesse or hardnesse, and so furthe of tounes; but such only as consist in the variety of letters, wordes and dialect. In which respect, though the tounge of Saxonie, Flanders, England and Scotland be one; yet because of a peculiar property and dialect whiche is in them, the vulgar Saxons are not only strangers to Englishe men, but also to the Flemminges their neighbors.”; see also fol. 66 <sup>v</sup> -67 <sup>r</sup> , where the term is used with respect to the Ancient Greek language. For the 16 <sup>th</sup> -century history of the word in English, see Van Rooy / Considine (2016).
1614	Dutch: <i>dialect</i> (first f., later n.)	Schrieckius (1614), p. 8: “Eenighe ter wijlen meest vallende inde gheleghentheden van alle plaetsen, zijn dese met haere dialecten.” In this isolated instance, the term seems to refer to variation in individual words. For a clear example of its original feminine gender, see, e.g., Ten Kate (1723), vol. 1, p. 69: “de Aeolische <i>dialect</i> ”; Anon. (1743), “de Boheemse dialect.”
1634	German: <i>Dialect</i> & <i>Dialekt</i> (m.)	Spee (1649), sig. *.5 <sup>r</sup> : “Und zwar die teutsche Wörter betreffend, solle sich der Leser sicher drauff verlassen, daß keines passirt worden, so sich nicht bey guten Authoren finden lasse, oder bey guten Teutschen bräuchlich seye, ob schon alle und jede Wörter nit bey einer Statt oder Landt zu finden seyn; sonder ist das Privilegium oder Volmacht <i>Dialecten</i> zu gebrauchen in acht genommen.” The text, written in 1634, appeared only in 1649, Löffler (2003), p. 2.

A brief excursus on the gender of the Western European vernacular equivalents of *dialectus* is in order here, as its history is rather remarkable. Contrary to Neo-Latin, none of the Western European vernaculars preserved, in the end, the original feminine gender of the Greek and Latin terms. What is more, the Romance vernaculars changed its gender to masculine right away, most likely



to adapt the term to their own morphological systems. Influence from the lexicographic tradition in Crastone's wake seems highly unlikely in this context (see section 5). In one case, there was a clear discussion among lexicographers about the gender of the term, albeit at a very late stage: in late 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>-century France.<sup>80</sup> This is most likely related to the fact that, in French, the ending of the noun *dialecte* was not as unequivocal in terms of grammatical gender as its Italian and Spanish counterparts; the discussion must be viewed in the context of a wider debate on nouns of 'uncertain gender' (*genre douteux*). For etymological reasons, the feminine gender is preferred by César Chesneau Dumarsais (1676-1756), who, in his *Encyclopédie* article "Dialecte," refers to the Ancient Greek and Latin gender of the word and to its (allegedly) exclusive application to the Ancient Greek context.<sup>81</sup> Dumarsais must nevertheless admit that the masculine gender, promoted by the *Académie française*,<sup>82</sup> prevails in usage. Whereas most French authors opt for either the masculine or the feminine gender, some scholars vacillate between the two.<sup>83</sup> Strikingly enough, the *Encyclopédie* even presents the term *idiome* as feminine and regards it as a synonym of *dialecte*.<sup>84</sup> Their belonging to the same semantic field might have brought the anonymous author of this lemma to make *idiome* feminine. He does not, however, put his feminization of the term to actual practice in his examples, so that it remains possible that it was a *lapsus calami*.

### 7. The learned and polysemous status of the term

The term's gradual integration into the lexicon of Neo-Latin and the vernacular languages did not mean, however, that it became part of the common people's vocabulary. Symptomatic of this fact is that the term is sometimes included in English dictionaries of hard words.<sup>85</sup> In addition, the word is very often glossed, certainly in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>86</sup> Even as late as 1754, Dumarsais does not cease to stress its status as a technical, learned term. It is described as "étant purement grec

<sup>80</sup> See, e.g., RICHELET (1680), p. 242: "Dialecte, s. f. Quelques auteurs font le mot de *dialecte masculin*, mais généralement ceux qui parlent le mieux le croient et le font *féminin*." For discussion outside of France, see, e.g., FRISCH (1730), p. 1132.

<sup>81</sup> DUMARSAIS (1754), p. 933-934.

<sup>82</sup> ACADEMIE FRANÇAISE (1694), vol. 1, p. 326.

<sup>83</sup> Contrast ROLLIN (1726), p. 117, with ROLLIN (1731), p. 395, and BEAUZÉE (1765), p. 249, with BEAUZÉE (1765), p. 259.

<sup>84</sup> See ANON. (1765), p. 496.

<sup>85</sup> See, e.g., CAWDREY / CAWDREY (1604), (1609), explaining words that are difficult to understand for women and unlearned men and necessary for reading the Bible, sermons, and other texts (as well as for using these words); PHILLIPS (1658), explaining difficult words borrowed from other tongues.

<sup>86</sup> See, e.g., FAUCHET (1581), p. 38: "Ce dialecte (c'est à dire propriété et diversité de langage)." Cf. CAMERARIUS (1541), sig. β.2<sup>r</sup>; LIBURNIO (1546), sig. A.vii<sup>r</sup>; LUTHER (1566), p. 605; STAPLETON (1566), fol. 59<sup>r</sup>; STANIURST (1577), fol. 4<sup>r</sup>; PERSONS (1585), p. 102.

et n'étant en usage que parmi les gens de Lettres."<sup>87</sup> He adds – surprisingly – that it is only used when the Greek context is discussed ("seulement quand il s'agit de grec"). This goes too far. Even more, the first known attestation of the French word does not concern a Greek dialect, but Pierre de Ronsard's (1524-1585) native French dialect (see Table 4). Still, it remains a fact that it was prototypically used for varieties of the Greek language and that it only gradually became more widely applied to other (vernacular, Latin, 'Oriental', 'exotic') contexts.

It is therefore not unexpected that, throughout the early modern era, the term – learned as it was – was usually acquired by pupils in courses on the Ancient Greek language and literature, most often in an already advanced stage. Indeed, teachers (grammar writers) generally tried to spare beginning students (readers) this thorny issue. The humanist Urbano Bolzanio (1442-1524), for instance, reworked his Greek grammar twice, as he did not want to trouble novices with too much information on the dialects.<sup>88</sup> The strongest indication of this state of affairs is, however, provided by Tanneguy Le Fevre (1615-1672). In his *Méthode pour commencer les humanités grecques et latines*, based on the experience he gained by teaching his son, Le Fevre writes:

"Pourquoi donc ne m'apprenez-vous pas autre chose en Grec, au lieu de me faire tant repeter mes verbes? Je vous apprens aussi autre chose, et vous n'y songez pas. Quoi donc? me repliqua-t-il [sc. Le Fevre's son]. Les dialectes. Mais je ne sçai ce que c'est que Dialecte. N'importe, croyez-moi seulement."<sup>89</sup>

This brief dialogue bears testimony to the importance of Greek studies for integrating the term *dialectus* (and/or its vernacular equivalents) into one's personal vocabulary.

The original 'Greekness' of the term often seems to be typographically marked by capitalizing the first letter (<D>). This appears to be, at least in part, a remnant of a frequent Greek ligature of delta and iota (see Figure 2 for an example). I am aware of the fact that early modern capitalization in Latin and the vernaculars is far from systematic. It nevertheless remains rather remarkable that the initial letter of the term is capitalized not only very frequently, but also in texts written and printed in every important Western European vernacular tongue. This must most likely be framed within the more general early modern practice of capitalizing the first letter of technical and 'remarkable' terms.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>87</sup> DUMARSAIS (1754), p. 934. Cf. GATTERER (1770), p. 6, who regards *Dialect* as typical of historical language study (German: *Sprachphilosophie*). VIEIRA (1694), p. 448, writing in Portuguese, points out that the technical term is still mainly used in, and limited to, Latin texts. See also COLES (1676); KIRCHMAIER / THRYLLITSCH (1709), sig. A.2<sup>v</sup>, B.2<sup>v</sup>. According to the ACADEMIE FRANÇAISE (1694), vol. 1, p. 582, not *dialecte* but *idiome* is a technical term.

<sup>88</sup> BOTLEY (2010), p. 37.

<sup>89</sup> LE FEVRE (1731), p. 46.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. BAYLY (1756), p. 14, on "orthographical rules in English, Latin, and Greek": "CAPITAL LETTERS are commonly used in beginning a sentence, verse, proper name, title, and any remarkable word."



Figure 2. The Greek term *διάλεκτος*  
as printed in (DE) SAUMAISE (1643), p. 13.

Another (minor) symptom of the close association of the word with the Ancient Greek context seems to be its absence from 16<sup>th</sup>-century missionary grammars, in which Greek generally did not function as a model situation extolling the ‘exotic’ language described, as it often did with Western European vernaculars.<sup>91</sup>

After some time, the term became a fixed part of the technical vocabularies of Latin and the Western European vernaculars, so that more channels through which the word could be integrated into one’s personal lexicon opened up. It nevertheless remained learned and was normally not part of the lexicon of the ‘common people.’ This is likely to have changed only in modern times (from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards), when standard languages gradually reached all levels of society through, among other things, mass education and the concept of DIALECT as opposed to (STANDARD) LANGUAGE became immediately relevant to speakers of all social classes.<sup>92</sup>

Although the Greek language is not always mentioned when the term *dialectus* is used or discussed, and a prominent Hellenist such as Claude de Saumaise explicitly refutes the view that the term can only be used to refer to varieties of Greek,<sup>93</sup> it still remains somewhat exceptional that the Greek dialects are not brought up when the term occurs, certainly before the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This raises a crucial question about the status of the term in early modern texts. How exactly is it perceived: (1) as an originally Greek word with different meanings, (2) as a term expressing an author’s idiosyncratic interpretation, or (3) as a designation of a kind of fixed concept of DIALECT (although this usually amounts to a hybrid Greek – early modern construction)? In what follows, I provide examples of each of these possibilities.

Firstly, Greek dictionaries such as that of Crastone obviously refer to the Greek term and its different meanings. Its wide semantic range contrasts with the increasing early modern specialization of the word, which became prominently

<sup>91</sup> See, e.g., DE ANCHIETA (1595), fol. 1<sup>v</sup>, who mentions variation in Tupi: see SWIGERS (1997), p. 156, n. 47; CALVO PÉREZ (2005), p. 140. See WINKLER (2016), p. 169–170, for a 1668 missionary grammar in which Latin *dialectus* does occur.

<sup>92</sup> See, e.g., VINCENT (2000); CHARTIER (2009), p. 464: “In the course of the nineteenth century, political and economic changes resulted in the fragmentation of society, and it became imperative to impart to children a sense of belonging to the same nation. National languages, histories, geographies and literatures were now central to identity-building.”

<sup>93</sup> (DE) SAUMAISE (1643), p. 455–456.

tied up with the concept of ‘variety of one and the same language.’ This interpretation ‘monopolized,’ so to speak, the term to a certain extent, albeit not as clearly as in modern usage. Indeed, some early modern scholars single out that the term has several metalinguistic meanings. The Flemish Protestant scholar Johannes Drusius (van den Dries[s]che; 1550-1616), for instance, elaborates on the “proper” interpretation of the term *dialectus* (“particular way of speaking in the same language”) and its “wider” sense (“language proper to a people”), when commenting on *Acta Apostolorum* 2.8.<sup>94</sup> Secondly, the Dutch orientalist Albert Schultens (1686-1750) employs the term *dialectus* to express his own idiosyncratic conceptualization of DIALECT. As a matter of fact, Schultens emphasizes that other learned men have failed to understand it correctly, which is why he offers a detailed discussion of the term and the concept he believes to be intertwined with it.<sup>95</sup> For the frequently occurring third type, the *De dialectis appendix* of the French Hellenist Petrus Antesignanus (c. 1525-1561) provides a revealing case. While stressing that he is explaining what (Greek) grammarians take the term *dialectus* to signify, Antesignanus is actually expounding his own interpretation of it.<sup>96</sup> Here, the adoption of the Greek term goes hand in hand with (unconscious) conceptual adaptation.<sup>97</sup>

I have established that the term was technical and polysemous throughout the early modern period, and that scholars were aware of this.<sup>98</sup> The existing polysemy, especially remarkable in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, implies that there was a mismatch between the concept of DIALECT understood as ‘variety of one and the same language’ and the word prototypically used to express it. This impacted on the conceptual distinction between LANGUAGE and DIALECT, as other meanings of the term interfered with the concept of DIALECT in various ways. What were the principal ‘other’ meanings of the word *dialect(us)*? Let us look at a number of English and Latin examples for an indication.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>94</sup> DRUSIUS (1616), p. 76: *Est autem dialectus proprie in eadem alioqui lingua peculiaris loquendi modus, ueluti apud Graecos cum una sit lingua quinque tamen sunt dialecti. Sed latiore significatione sumitur Act. 2. 8. et alibi. Sic dico, suus et proprius cuiusque gentis sermo .i. diuersorum populorum discrimen loquendi siue sint eiusdem linguae siue non, uocatur διάλεκτος.*

<sup>95</sup> SCHULTENS (1738), sig. \*.2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>96</sup> ANTESIGNANUS (1554), p. 11-12.

<sup>97</sup> See VAN ROOY (2016b) for a closer analysis of Antesignanus’ views on the meaning of the term *dialectus*.

<sup>98</sup> For polysemy, see, e.g., also KIESLING / BAUSE (1712), p. 4: *usus uocis διαλέκτου nonnihil ambiguus est.*

<sup>99</sup> The complex history of the Spanish word *dialecto* and its linguistic meanings deserves a closer investigation, but this lies outside the scope of the present paper. For instance, some authors, most importantly Gregorio López Madera (?1562/74 – 1640/49), use it idiosyncratically in the meaning of ‘morphology.’ See LÓPEZ MADERA (1595), fol. 29<sup>v</sup>; BINOTTI (1995), p. 52-58.

In their poetical works, Charles Aleyn († 1640) and Thomas Jordan (c. 1614-1685) speak of the ‘dialect’ of peace and love respectively.<sup>100</sup> In a prose text of 1700, *dialect* is used to designate the technical language associated with Copernicus’ astronomic model.<sup>101</sup> In these instances, the word is clearly used in the more general meaning of ‘manner of speaking’ or ‘(typical) discourse’ (‘jargon; idiom’). In other instances, it can even mean ‘language’ in general. This polysemy is either an independent development in the English language or, as seems more likely, a semantic loan from Latin and – probably to a lesser extent – Greek, but such processes are difficult to distinguish, as Durkin points out.<sup>102</sup>

Similar meanings were present in Neo-Latin (cf. section 5). Additionally, the term *dialectus* could refer to different literary registers such as poetical versus prosaic speech. The phrase *duplex dialectus*, for example, in a work entitled *Historica Franciae regum genesis, duplici dialecto in epitomen contracta* refers to the fact that each entry describing a French king appears in both a prose and a versified version.<sup>103</sup> This reminds of Quintilian’s interpretation of *dialectus* as *genus loquendi*, ‘kind of speaking’ or ‘register.’<sup>104</sup> *Dialectus* and its vernacular counterparts are often employed in the meaning of ‘dialectal particularity’ as well. It then refers to a specific dialectal property and not to a linguistic entity such as ‘Attic’ or ‘Bavarian.’ This is no doubt partly inspired by Greek scholarship and obviously related to the concept of DIALECT.<sup>105</sup>

#### 8. Neologisms based on dialect(us)

After the naturalization of Latin *dialectus* and its vernacular equivalents, new derivations of, and compositions with, the term were coined, with different degrees of success. This usually occurred first in Latin and only later on in the vernaculars, with one major exception, as we will see. A derivation coined in 1650 is of key significance, as it would become the modern designation for the subdiscipline of academic linguistics devoted to the study of dialects: *dialectologia*, whence English *dialectology*. It appears as the first and most prominent word on the title page of a widely read work by Caspar Wyss (1605-1659), a pastor and professor of Greek from Zürich. As his monograph provides an overview of the (alleged) presence of Greek dialect forms in the New Testament text,<sup>106</sup> Wyss

<sup>100</sup> ALEYN (1638), p. 100; JORDAN (1646), title.

<sup>101</sup> HOWARD (1700), p. 296; cf. KIRKPATRICK (1761), p. viii.

<sup>102</sup> DURKIN (2009), p. 136.

<sup>103</sup> TABOËTIUS (1560).

<sup>104</sup> See VAN ROOY (2016c), p. 257. Cf. MAZZOCCHI’s (1754), p. 542, phrase *dialectus heroica*, denoting ‘epic register.’

<sup>105</sup> See, e.g., LANCELOT (1655), p. 89; DE LARRAMENDI (1729), p. 22. Cf. the meaning attributed to Plutarch in Table 1.

<sup>106</sup> On ‘biblical dialectology,’ see VAN ROOY (2016a), p. 469-470; (2017), p. 215-217, 319.

has entitled it *Dialectologia sacra*. His innovation was picked up soon. Some authors explicitly refer to his work, often while praising it, whereas others use Wyss' neologism without mentioning him.<sup>107</sup>

Johannes Bregius, a further unknown German Hellenist, seems to have broadened the sense of the word *dialectologia* to 'description of the Greek dialects and their features' in general, i.e. not limited to New Testament Greek.<sup>108</sup> This would become more frequent in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>109</sup> What is more, it was applied to non-Greek dialects too, most importantly by Erik Benzelius the Younger (1675-1743) and Michael Richey (1678-1761). Benzelius planned a work entitled *Dialectologia Suecica*, containing wordlists of Swedish dialects, whereas Richey attached a *Dialectologia Hamburgensis*, describing phonetic and morphological features of the Hamburg dialect, to the 1755 edition of his dialect lexicon (*Idioticon Hamburgense*).<sup>110</sup> In Richey's wake, Johann Christoph Strodtmann (1717-1756) designed a brief *Dialectologia Osnabrugensis* and also Germanized the term.<sup>111</sup>

Derived from *dialectologia* is the adjective *dialectologicus*, which seems to appear in one early modern text only: Bregius' *Prosodia Graeca, cum dialectologia* (1684). It is repeatedly used as a header in a section outlining 'letter changes' according to the different Greek dialects. As these are arranged alphabetically, the list is entitled *Alphabetum dialectologicum*. Whereas Wyss' introduction of the term *dialectologia* was relatively successful and the modern term can probably be traced back to him indirectly, Bregius' coining of the adjective *dialectologicus* does not appear to have been influential and the word was probably recoined in modern times. The link between Wyss' *dialectologia* and the modern term deserves a closer investigation. Budzinski already traces the modern term back to an 18<sup>th</sup>-century publication on the history of Hamburg, but she is unaware that reference is made to Richey's 1755 work on the Hamburg dialect.<sup>112</sup> Whether Richey was acquainted with Wyss' 1650 monograph or coined *dialectologia* independently, remains to be seen. It is, however, a fact that he

<sup>107</sup> E.g., the following works refer to WYSS (1650): LEUSDEN (1670), p. 84; OLEARIUS (1677), p. 68-69; KÖBER (1701), p. 377; VON DER HARDT (1705), p. 19; REINHARD (1724), p. 15; GEORGI / GRAUN (1730), p. 3; GEORGI (1733), p. 88; HAUPTMANN / SCHMID (1737), p. 15; GRODDECK / TREUGE (1747), p. XXIII; MUNTHE / HEIBERG (1748), p. 40.

<sup>108</sup> BREGIUS (1684), title page, p. 64.

<sup>109</sup> See NIBBE (1725), sig. b.1<sup>v</sup>, borrowing it into German as *Dialectologie*; GEORGI (1733), p. 16; HAUPTMANN / SCHMID (1737), p. 15, where it is only used in the Greek form *διαλεκτολογία*.

<sup>110</sup> For Benzelius, see CONSIDINE (2017), p. 166, 173, 175. For Richey's *Idioticon* (1755), see CONSIDINE (2017), p. 117-120. For his *Dialectologia*, see also BREKLE *et al.* (2001), p. 175. In the first edition, RICHEY (1743), p. III, had coined the Greek term *διαλεκτογνώσις*, 'knowledge of dialects,' which he considers of paramount importance for the study of languages.

<sup>111</sup> STRODTMANN (1756), p. XII, 3-8, 240.

<sup>112</sup> BUDZINSKI (2012), p. 14-16.

had a long career as a professor of Greek and knew at least some early modern work on the Greek dialects.<sup>113</sup>

More in the margin, the adjective *dialecticus* should be mentioned. This word already occurs in ancient Latin texts as a loanword from Ancient Greek διαλεκτικός and belongs to the semantic field of dialectics, the art of reasoning. In the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, a homonym deriving from *dialectus* is coined. *Dialecticus* in the meaning of ‘dialectal’ first appears in Latin texts, usually with reference to features of the Greek dialects or the ‘Oriental’ (nowadays: Semitic) tongues.<sup>114</sup> It is found in 18<sup>th</sup>-century English texts as *dialectic(al)*.<sup>115</sup> It is remarkable that the coinages discussed thus far principally occur in Latin texts written by German-speaking scholars. This suggests that German Europe was a major center of reflection on, and interest in, dialectal variation.<sup>116</sup>

Derivations from *dialectus* tend to appear first in Neo-Latin and only later on in vernacular tongues. One important exception is the coining of the term *subdialect* (Latin *subdialectus*). It is first used in English by James Howell (c. 1594-1666), a writer by profession, in 1642 at the latest, when his *Instructions for forreine travell* appeared. Howell uses the term several times in this work, never in the context of the traditional Greek dialects. He interprets it as a speech variety subsumed under a DIALECT, which, in turn, is subsumed under a LANGUAGE.<sup>117</sup> It is not impossible that Howell had already coined the term in 1630, since it appears in four letters of his allegedly written between July 1 and August 9 of that year. These letters were, however, published only in 1650 as part of his extremely popular *Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae*,<sup>118</sup> which offer “a retrospective account of his travels together with his opinions on the peoples and places he encountered along the way.”<sup>119</sup> Howell composed this letter collection during his long imprisonment in the years 1643-1650. The letters were either (more or less loosely) based on earlier, actually existing letters or entirely made up by Howell. The dating of the relevant letters is therefore probably not to be trusted

<sup>113</sup> Cf. RICHEY (1755), p. XL. I intend to explore the details of this evolution at another occasion.

<sup>114</sup> For Greek, see, e.g., MEDDENS (1691), p. 12; HELLADIUS (1712), p. 8; MAITTAIRE (1706), p. x. KEIMANN (1649), p. 54, has *dialecticus*, but this seems to be a typographical mistake for *dialectus*. For the ‘Oriental’ context, see, e.g., KIESLING / LOTH (1712), p. 4 (*significatus dialecticus*); KALS (1752), p. 68, 69; HYDE (1767), p. 453, 454.

<sup>115</sup> E.g., HOLLOWAY (1754), p. 4. Another neologism derived from *dialectus* is *dialectographia*, which I have encountered once, in VON DER HARDT (1705), p. 19, where it refers to the act of describing the Greek dialects.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. VAN ROOY (2017), p. 361-362.

<sup>117</sup> See, e.g., HOWELL (1642), p. 124: “The French have three dialects, the Wallon (vulgarly called among themselves Romand), the Provencall (whereof the Gascon is a subdialect), and the speech of Languedoc.”

<sup>118</sup> HOWELL (1650), p. 80, 89-91.

<sup>119</sup> WOOLF (2008), whence the information on the letter collection offered here is drawn.



and it is likely that Howell first used the term *subdialect* only in 1642. It also occurs several times in his English grammar.<sup>120</sup> The lexicographer Thomas Blount (1618-1679) already included Howell's neologism in his *Glossographia* (*sub uoce* 'dialect'), a dictionary explaining difficult words one can encounter when reading English books.<sup>121</sup> Blount cites Howell's *Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae* in this context. Later on, some scholars replaced the Latin prefix by its English counterpart, which resulted in the term *under-dialect*.<sup>122</sup>

The first attestation of Neo-Latin *subdialectus* is of a slightly later date. It was coined apparently independently from Howell by the Swedish philologist Georg Stiernhielm (1598-1672) in a manuscript treatise entitled *De linguis in genere*, which never reached print and was presumably composed between 1646 and 1651.<sup>123</sup> The term occurs when Stiernhielm discusses the dispersion of the 'Oriental' tongues.<sup>124</sup> He also uses it in his *De linguarum origine praefatio*, printed as the introduction to his edition of Ulfilas' (c. 311-383) Gothic Bible translation and published in 1671. The greater part of this preface was already composed in the years 1651-1653 under the title *Runa Suethica*.<sup>125</sup> When discussing the Aramaic language, Stiernhielm expounds that it [*h*]abuit [...] (*sic fert natura*) *suas subdiuisiones et, ut ita dicam, subdialectos*.<sup>126</sup> Here, he displays awareness of the fact that he is coining a neologism, as indicated by the parenthetical phrase *ut ita dicam*. In short, Latin *subdialectus* was introduced at least four years after Howell's coining of English *subdialect*. The English and Latin forms were picked up by a relatively restricted number of authors in the early modern period.<sup>127</sup>

Another intriguing, but extremely rare English derivation of *dialect* is the verb *to transdialect*, coined by the renowned philologist Richard Bentley (1662-1742) to confer the specific meaning of 'to translate into another dialect'.<sup>128</sup> In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, several new derivations of, and compositions with, *dialect* were coined, especially in German, such as *Hauptdialekt* ('head / main dialect'),<sup>129</sup> *Nationaldialekt* ('national dialect'), and *Nebendialekt* ('subordinate / marginal

<sup>120</sup> HOWELL (1662), sig. A.6<sup>v</sup>, p. 80, 84.

<sup>121</sup> BLOUNT (1656), sig. A.2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>122</sup> E.g., HOLLOWAY (1754), p. 47.

<sup>123</sup> See ESKHULT (fc.) for an edition.

<sup>124</sup> STIERNHIELM (c. 1646-1651), fol. 54<sup>r</sup>: *Orientalis dialectos esse minime simul ortas, sed temporum interuallis enatas, Hebraeam, Chaldaicam, Syriacam, Aethiopicam, Punicam aut in genere Arabicam in mille subdialectos diffusam*.

<sup>125</sup> ESKHULT (fc.).

<sup>126</sup> STIERNHIELM (1671), sig. d.2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>127</sup> For Latin *subdialectus*, see, e.g., BECMAN (1673), p. 212; THOMASSIN (1697), p. lxi; HOFMANN (1698), vol. 1, p. 758, 824; RUHIG (1745), p. 53. For English *subdialect*, see, e.g., PEPYS (1677), p. 5-6; HIGGONS (1727), p. 47.

<sup>128</sup> BENTLEY (1699), p. 358.

<sup>129</sup> E.g., NIBBE (1725), sig. b.2<sup>r</sup>.

dialect').<sup>130</sup> In Dutch, the composition *straet-dialect* ('street dialect') is used to refer to the variety spoken in the streets of Amsterdam by an early 18<sup>th</sup>-century Dutch scholar.<sup>131</sup>

## 9. Conclusions

The history of the term *dialect(us)* is highly complex. The word *διάλεκτος* was definitively borrowed from Ancient Greek into (Neo-)Latin toward the end of the Quattrocento and *dialectus* was subsequently naturalized as an 'approved' word during the first decades of the Cinquecento. Then, the term was borrowed into Spanish, Italian, French, English, and other vernacular tongues at various times and paces of naturalization. For most vernaculars, this process remains to be mapped out in more detail. I have attempted to demonstrate that Latin functioned as the main donor language, although an acquaintance with Ancient Greek and/or other vernacular languages that had already adopted the word no doubt stimulated the borrowing process in some cases.<sup>132</sup> The term became steadily anchored into the metalinguistic lexicon of Neo-Latin and the Western European vernaculars, although it remained a highly technical term and retained part of the polysemy of the original Greek term, which interfered with the concept of 'variety of one and the same language.'

The introduction of the word *dialectus* into the Latin lexicon was triggered and accelerated by the false assumption that Quintilian had already Latinized *διάλεκτος*. *Dialectus* was, in other words, wrongly considered 'classical,' a development due to a twist of fate in the textual transmission of Quintilian's work. As a matter of fact, it seems rather likely that, without the illusion of antiquity surrounding the term, it would have taken more time to become accepted. Nonetheless, the need of 16<sup>th</sup>-century Hellenists (1) to talk about the Greek dialects in their lingua franca, (2) to bring order in the constantly widening linguistic horizon of early modern Europe, and (3) to attain a more straightforward relationship between term and meaning, made the borrowing of the word into Latin inevitable in the end. The borrowing process *dialectus* went through shows that (1) mechanisms of Latinizing Greek terms can be of a highly complex and peculiar nature, (2) drawing up the history of Greek loanwords in Neo-Latin often requires detailed insight into the textual transmission of ancient texts, and (3) lexical borrowing from Greek into (Neo-)Latin frequently involves conceptual adaptation and appropriation. It can also be noted that there were many other terminological means available to early modern authors to refer to regional linguistic variation and individual dialects, depending on the language in which one was writing, most importantly: Latin *idioma* and its

<sup>130</sup> E.g., GEDIKE (1782), p. 21 & 9, respectively.

<sup>131</sup> TEN KATE (1723), vol. 1, p. 243 & vol. 2, p. 24.

<sup>132</sup> See VAN ROOY / CONSIDINE (2016), p. 661, for the case of English.

vernacular equivalents, French *patois*, and German *Mundart* – although not every scholar considered these terms to be (exact) synonyms of *dialect(us)*. The history of these alternative terms is in need of a closer investigation.

The term *dialectus* gave rise to a number of neologisms, most remarkably *dialectologia*, coined as early as 1650 by the Swiss philologist Caspar Wyss. This designation gained wide acceptance only during the modern era, when linguistics became an independent, systematized, and institutionalized discipline. Its modern usage can, however, probably be traced back to Wyss and the influence of his *Dialectologia sacra* on early modern scholarship. A second major early modern derivation of *dialect(us)* is *subdialect(us)*, first occurring in the English works of James Howell and recoinced – probably independently – in Latin by the Swedish scholar Georg Stiernhielm shortly afterwards.

The term *dialect(us)* could express various linguistic meanings before the modern period, among which the interpretation ‘regional variety of a language’ became very prominent from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Regardless of the countless semantic developments, there seems to be one constant element in this story: the overall vagueness and flexibility with which the term was used by premodern scholars. The analysis presented here thus confirms Guido Zernatto’s generalization on “fashionable words.” Soon after its (Neo-)Latinization, *dialectus* underwent the fate of a “much-used coin” by becoming “very much worn down and flat” and the word lost its “sharpness of impression.” Still, not all the edges of the *dialectus*-coin were completely “worn down.” The meaning ‘regional variety of a language’ rose to prominence as the coin’s sharpest edge, stimulating many early modern scholars to use the term in serious linguistic discussions.

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## Placing *Medea*: A Topographical Approach to Seneca's Tragedy

### 1. Introduction: place and space in Roman literature

"Place" as a producer of meaning – "a form of lived and grounded space,"<sup>1</sup> "endowed with [its own] agency" and "mutually constituted" alongside the "persons" and "identities" living therein<sup>2</sup> – is not something often considered in work on Roman tragedy. But place as a crucial co-producer of meaning in Roman culture and literature is by now an accepted scholarly stance, at least in terms of non-dramatic Roman authors. While this scholarship has been characterized as the product of the "spatial turn" in the discipline,<sup>3</sup> the conclusions drawn seem to point to the preeminent importance of taking place and space into account for a fuller understanding of the meanings of Roman texts. As Russell asserts in the case of Republican Rome, "Romans were just as attuned to the memories embedded in their cities as we are today, and probably more so."<sup>4</sup> To mention but a few examples of specific literary studies: Vasaly shows how Cicero invokes the places of Rome selectively and intentionally, for emotional appeal, and to "create new meanings [for monuments and topography] that would interact with preexisting associations to further his rhetorical aims";<sup>5</sup> Zanker shows how Augustus' monumental, numismatic, and sculptural programs work intentionally and dynamically to construct for Romans a "new mythology of

<sup>1</sup> ESCOBAR (2001), p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> ESCOBAR (2001), p. 146. See also TUAN (1977), p. 3-7, 12, seminal in differentiating "space" and "place"; GIBSON / GRAHAM (1996); SOJA (1996); MASSEY (1994).

<sup>3</sup> RUSSELL (2015), p. 17 defines the "spatial turn," referring to WARF / ARIAS (2009).

<sup>4</sup> RUSSELL (2015), p. 19, invoking Nora's *lieux de mémoire*, which fit an early imperial context: "the moment of *lieux de mémoire* occurs at the same time that an immense and intimate fund of memory disappears ... [They] are ... embodiments of a memorial consciousness that has barely survived in a historical age that calls out for memory because it has abandoned it"; cf. NORA (1989), p. 11-12. See GOWING (2005), p. 10-12, 132-138 on Nora and imperial Rome, p. 148 on the *summi uiri* in Augustus' Forum as "associated with the loss of and mourning for the Republic." I thank Amy Richlin for pointing me to NORA (1989).

<sup>5</sup> VASALY (1993), p. 11: "... from a wide range of meanings associated with the physical world Cicero carefully emphasizes some at the expense of others ... to contradict in one speech the interpretations emphasized and deemphasized in other speeches ..."; e.g., p. 37, 100-104.

Rome”;<sup>6</sup> Favro and Prior posit interpretations of the “narrative” experience of moving through the city of Rome in the time of Augustus and Martial, respectively;<sup>7</sup> Welch explores Propertius’ treatment of Augustan monuments in his poetry as an attempt to “focalize” for his readers alternate narratives of the new Augustan state;<sup>8</sup> Boyle shows how frequently, and to what critical ends, Ovid invokes specific monuments and regions of the city of Rome;<sup>9</sup> finally, Harrison and Phillips, among others, present readings of Vergil’s *Aeneid* as playing an active role in (re)shaping its audience’s interpretation of the dissonance between their contemporary Rome and the early city.<sup>10</sup> Given the seeming ubiquity of Roman authors invoking and critiquing the topography of Rome in their work, it follows that Senecan tragedy, at the least, could be seen as a direct inheritor of an established literary tradition incorporating place, implicitly or explicitly, as a co-agent of the semantic product. It would be yet another hearkening to Augustan literature, in other words, to find that Seneca invoked and commented on the spatial experience of Rome.

A thorough study of the effects of performance place on the interpretation of *performed* Roman text, however, is still lacking.<sup>11</sup> But if place is understood as being meaningful *in* Roman texts, then the interpretation of texts performed in places ought not be exempt from spatial readings. This article therefore makes use of questions from environmental theatre,<sup>12</sup> human geography, phenomenology,<sup>13</sup> and new materialism, none of which have been adequately tried as approaches to Senecan tragedy. These spatial framings assume that the environment – landscapes, soundscapes, local histories – shapes perception and embodied experience; they are therefore helpful for interrogating how specific places of performance can affect constructions of meaning during that performance. But I pursue in addition a more complex enmeshment of text *and* place: specifically, that the identities of both are mutually co-constituted in their juxtaposition

<sup>6</sup> ZANKER (1990), p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> FAVRO (1996); PRIOR (1996).

<sup>8</sup> WELCH (2005).

<sup>9</sup> BOYLE (2003). More recently, see, e.g., LAURENCE (2011) on Martial; SKEMPIS (2013), p. 292-294 on place-making and colonization; ROLLER (2013) on Augustan monuments.

<sup>10</sup> HARRISON (2006); PHILLIPS (2015).

<sup>11</sup> But see MARSHALL (2006), p. ix-x, 33-34, 36-40; MOORE (1998), p. 126-139; interestingly, HARRISON / LIAPIS (2013) has no essays on Senecan tragedy (despite discussing Senecan performance at p. 29-31).

<sup>12</sup> SCHECHNER (1973), p. 2: “the theater itself is part of ... larger out-of-the-theater spaces [which] are the life of the city; and also temporal-historical spaces ... There is no dead space ...”.

<sup>13</sup> For phenomenological approaches to Rome, see FAVRO (1996); LAURENCE / NEWSOME (2011). On memory, see MERLEAU-PONTY (1981), p. 281: “Every perception presupposes, on the perceiving subject’s part, a certain past, and the abstract function of perception, as a coming together of objects, implies some more occult act ...”.

– that their identities “do not preexist as such but rather materialize in intra-action.”<sup>14</sup> In what follows, I explore the potential effects of a place-based reading of Senecan tragedy, in which I assume a mutual co-constitution of the semantics of one stone theatre space in the Campus Martius – the Theatre of Pompey – and an imperial Roman reception of Seneca’s *Medea*.<sup>15</sup>

Most recent work on spatiality in Roman drama addresses not theatrical “place,” but “space:” performance without geographical context, landscapes, soundscapes, smellscapes,<sup>16</sup> or historical situatedness, where one can analyze (fruitfully, to be fair) semantics of stage and audience, blocking, props and costumes, masks, actor-audience interactions, interactions among audience members, entrances and exits, and extratheatrical imagined spaces (e.g., a stage-left exit signifying “the road to Athens”).<sup>17</sup> The abstraction to theatre “space” is understandable, since, prior to the construction of Pompey’s theatre in the mid-50s BCE, there were no permanent, strictly theatrical structures in the city.<sup>18</sup> But despite the fact that ancient sources *do* attest performances in the Circus Maximus, the Circus Flaminius, the Forum, and on the Palatine during the Republican period,<sup>19</sup> and despite the fact that three permanent theatres existed in the city during Seneca’s lifetime, scholars have only rarely pursued the semantic effects of performance places on Roman dramatic texts; such an analysis would perhaps seem tentative at best, and historical fiction at worst.<sup>20</sup>

Part of this lack of hypothesizing must be due to the fact that Roman drama stands in contrast to Athens’ firmly-located Dionysian festival. But the Athenian parallel should still be instructive for Romanists, at least in the way scholars have shown how the topographies of the theatre of Dionysus and the Dionysian festival have the potential to affect an audience’s interpretation of tragic

<sup>14</sup> KLEINMANN (2012), p. 77.

<sup>15</sup> Thus distinct from KUGELMEIER (2014), on archaeology of Pompey’s theatre and Senecan performability.

<sup>16</sup> BETTS (2011).

<sup>17</sup> Recently, HARRISON / LIAPIS (2013); KOHN (2013); but also MANUWALD (2011); KRAGELUND (2008); MARSHALL (2006); BOYLE (1997), (2006); MOORE (1998); GOLDBERG (1998); HARRISON (2000). See MANUWALD (2011), p. 70 on stage exits.

<sup>18</sup> For annual performances in Rome, see, e.g., REHM (2007), p. 193-194. For temporary structures, BEACHAM (2007), p. 217 posits that elite Romans desired as much to hold on to “the option for such beneficial ‘showcasing’ of their largesse.” Cf. TAC., *Ann.* 14.20.

<sup>19</sup> See MANUWALD (2011), p. 41-68 for attested festivals and locations during the Republican period, but without substantial hypotheses for locations of performances.

<sup>20</sup> Exceptions are GOLDBERG (1998), whom I follow in imagining placed performance, but whose analysis focuses more on actor-audience relationship than text-landscape; and MOORE (1998), p. 126-139, who places Plautus’ *Curculio* in the Forum, proposing that a text would signal locations proximate to the audience (p. 137-138). Recently, following GOLDBERG (1998) but without analysis of topographical semantics, see MARSHALL (2006), p. 33-48; MANUWALD (2011), p. 55-60; HARRISON / LIAPIS (2013); SEAR (2006).



productions.<sup>21</sup> In doing so, it can also be proposed that the tradition of theatrical composition entailed a taking into account of the surroundings of the performance place, making Seneca an inheritor of an additional impulse to think about tragic composition with place in mind. Entertaining the idea of theatre-as-place thus works against a scholarly habit of abstracting theatrical performance onto some Platonic form of “the stage,”<sup>22</sup> and the consequent (nonobjective) interpretation of theatrical texts in place-less theatre spaces.

## 2. *Senecan tragedy: performance and materiality*

Whether or not Senecan tragedy was actually performed in Rome, scholars have largely agreed that Seneca’s tragedies were certainly performable given the theatrical resources and technologies of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, and that they were probably written for performance.<sup>23</sup> If one accepts that the text was composed in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE *for* performance, it is tempting then to wonder *where* it might have been performed, and, indeed, whether the author wrote the tragedies with any *specific* performance space in mind.<sup>24</sup> If so, it is possible that the author – like other Roman poets and like Greek tragedians – had in mind the proximate *lieux de mémoire* which would entangle themselves into any performance of text. The “placing” of a drama within any such space thus has the potential to unlock a complex of new textual meanings.

In the context of Senecan tragedy, seeing place as an agent in the production of meaning accords with the worldview advanced within the text itself. As is easily apparent and noted by several scholars, the tragedies exhibit a “sympathy” between the human society and the natural world.<sup>25</sup> Eclipses, plagues, and monsters occur in concert with human crime (see, e.g., *Oed.* 291-402, *Thy.* 789-884, *Pha.* 991-1122); nature and society are inseparable and echo each other. The tragedies thus evoke an idea of cosmic “entanglement,” a way of seeing

<sup>21</sup> MEINECK (2013); MITCHELL-BOYASK (2007); REHM (2002), p. 13-24, 35-62 (for spatial agency in Athens); WILES (1997); WINKLER / ZEITLIN (1990); GOLDHILL (1987).

<sup>22</sup> *Contra* BEACHAM (2007), p. 204: the “*idea* of a theatre” is more accurate to experiences of “ancient users.”

<sup>23</sup> Most scholars would agree that we currently cannot know whether or not Seneca’s tragedies were performed in a theatre to a public audience in antiquity. A recent thorough discussion is HARRISON / LIAPIS (2013), p. 29-31. KOHN (2013), p. 7 argues performative intent: “No serious tragedian in antiquity, however, is known to have written exclusively with [private recitation] in mind,” see also p. 6-14; BOYLE (1997), (2006), p. 192-193, (2014); KRAGELUND (2008); FITCH (2000); MARSHALL (2000). For the “recitation” hypothesis, see ZWIERLEIN (1966); FANTHAM (2000).

<sup>24</sup> KOHN (2013), p. 22: “Seneca had at least a fictive stage in mind for his plays.” This article, however, relies neither on certain authorship nor on a secure date of composition.

<sup>25</sup> E.g., SEGAL (1983a), (1983b); ROSENMEYER (1989); BOYLE (1997); LITTLEWOOD (2004).

human action and environment as dependent on each other for their individual meanings: an eclipse becomes an omen – as opposed to a simple phenomenon – in the context of particular human actions, and a particular human action becomes sacrilegious when accompanied by cosmological aberrations.

Seneca's cosmic entanglements might disrupt our notions of a polarized (and polarizing) orientation toward nature, material, or environment as some type of static background against which society, culture, or human agency assert themselves.<sup>26</sup> The problematization of this dichotomy invites a more complex place-based analysis, one which asserts the inherent interdependency of individuals for mutual constitutions of their meanings. Barad's new materialist concept of "intra-action" is thus indispensable:

... the notion of "intra-action" queers the familiar sense of causality (where one or more causal agents precede and produce an effect), and more generally unsettles the metaphysics of individualism (the belief that there are individually constituted agents or entities, as well as times and places).

... "individuals" do not preexist as such but rather materialize in intra-action ... "Phenomena" ... are the entanglement – the ontological inseparability – of intra-acting agencies ... It is through specific agential intra-actions that the boundaries and properties of "individuals" within the phenomenon become determinate and particular material articulations of the world become meaningful.<sup>27</sup>

This degree of interdependence between individuals and environment helps clarify the worlds presented in Seneca's tragedies.<sup>28</sup> The eclipse in *Thyestes* (789-884) is portentous through its relation to preceding, concurrent, and future action on stage; it figures the crime of Atreus as profane, as the crime itself lends meaning to the celestial phenomenon. This meaning, moreover, only exists within the perceptions of the audience in the moment of performance, who (re)inscribe something about themselves in their reception of the crime and/or their willingness to suspend disbelief and 'see' the eclipse.<sup>29</sup> Critical to the experience of any text – but perhaps more so to performed text – is the idea of entanglement as a *process* of individuals "materializing in intra-action," co-constituting identities from moment to moment. In Seneca's tragedy, meanings of audience, theatre space, and text can be expected to change in the diachronic experience of performance.

Finally, the city of Rome was itself a changing entity during Seneca's lifetime. Temporally, while the late 40s CE do offer interesting textual correlations (as are discussed below), the political reading I advance works with Augustan

<sup>26</sup> See, e.g., ALAIMO (2010), p. 1-11.

<sup>27</sup> KLEINMANN (2012), p. 77; BARAD (2007), p. 33 *et passim*.

<sup>28</sup> And accords with Stoic physics – active bodies striking each other create effects: ROSENMEYER (1989), p. 148-159; VOLK (2006); BRUNDSCHWIG (2003).

<sup>29</sup> On staging celestial phenomena, KOHN (2013), p. 17-21 suggests options including mime, sound effects, painted scenery, and props, but argues against strict realism.

and pre-Augustan monuments; it is not my purpose here to use Roman topography as an argument for composition date nor to argue for a *terminus ante quem non*.<sup>30</sup> It is clear that the topographically engaged genres discussed above (both Roman and Greek) are highly political; by separating Seneca's text from its (even imagined) place of production, I would argue that scholars participate in an active de-politicization<sup>31</sup> (or at least a different politicization) of both place and text. As we shall see, in the case of the *Medea*, putting it in place mobilizes a heretofore unseen political subtext in the tragedy, one that *only* appears in a spatial entanglement.

In incorporating questions from social geography, phenomenology, and new materialism, my approach accords with other Classics scholars reading Roman texts in place. First, I read the physical environment not as inert matter, with fixed semantics, within which context the text can be "remapped" or "embedded," but rather as something whose meaning is also constituted in the moment of performance.<sup>32</sup> Second, I assume that audience members would be aware of their surroundings beyond their literal viewshed;<sup>33</sup> thus, whether or not an audience can see something while watching the performance is not as important as their awareness of the surrounding topography. I depart from previous scholarship in that I want to acknowledge – and even lean into – the notion that reading text and place in this way invites confirmation bias: I feel that I have collected a rather strong collection of "entanglements" between this text and the Theatre of Pompey,<sup>34</sup> but part of the point of this analysis is to show the extent to which the text can be made labile by intra-action with a particular place, a particular scholar, a particular (imagined) audience. Finally, rather than end at the meeting point of text and place, I want also to see how this entanglement sparks further "provocations."<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> GOLDBERG (2007), p. 578: "the kind of political allegorizing that reads Nero into this or that Senecan king ... was never a good idea." UNRUH (2015) recently and compellingly juxtaposes SEN., *Thy.* and Nero's *domus aurea*. Goldberg's reluctance is partly the tragedies' insecure dating.

<sup>31</sup> ESCOBAR (2001), p. 150, 156-157, uses the term "political oppression."

<sup>32</sup> MITCHELL-BOYASK (2007), p. 89-90: "remapped," "embedded." See VASALY (1993), p. 8-13 for Cicero's purposeful manipulation of "semiotics" of place for his audiences.

<sup>33</sup> MERLEAU-PONTY (1981), p. 277: "We see as far as our hold on things extends, far beyond the zone of clear vision, and even behind us." Cf. VASALY (1993), p. 100-102 on images in thought (*ars memoriae*); RUSSELL (2015), p. 17: "Architecture ... also exists virtually in the minds of anyone who inhabits it."

<sup>34</sup> For topography of Rome in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, see RICHARDSON (1992); STEINBY (ed.) (1993-2000); COARELLI (2007); I try to keep a critical eye on their textual sources (e.g., Suetonius, Cassius Dio).

<sup>35</sup> DOLPHIJN / VAN DER TUIN (2012), p. 50, on Barad's "... method of diffractively reading insights through one another, building new insights, and attentively and carefully reading for differences that matter ... [and] bring inventive provocations ..."

Thus I conclude with some tempting Ovidian intertexts that follow from a placed *Medea*.<sup>36</sup>

### 3. *Medea in the Theatre of Pompey*

Let us move now to the Theatre of Pompey and the text of the *Medea*, and let us begin foremost with the opportunities afforded by Seneca's version.<sup>37</sup> In departing from Euripides, Seneca's text increases Medea's dramatic isolation; Medea's lack of contact with other characters is striking, as is their antipathy towards her.<sup>38</sup> Outside the city and without any noted landscape markers (aside from the palace in which the children are killed<sup>39</sup>), the place Medea occupies on stage more easily transplants itself into other places. This isolation thus creates the opportunity for an audience to "remap" the play onto their own surroundings.<sup>40</sup>

In addition to the isolated atmosphere of the play, changes to the mythical tradition help highlight for an audience points of resonance with their landscape.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, Seneca's *Medea* – in its departure from Euripides – calls attention to certain themes that, I will argue, resonate with the potential semantics of the Theatre of Pompey. Of the changes that might be significant to a place-based reading of the play, I call attention to four. First, the two central choral odes (301-379; 579-669) frame the Argonautic voyage as a fundamental turning point in humanity away from a "Golden Age" lived in accord with nature, and towards limitlessness, discombobulation, crimes, and suffering. Second, the character of Seneca's Medea is different: she identifies with her divine ancestry, with her past (which she attempts to reclaim via a contrary-to-nature manipulation of time), and with what become paradoxical duties as wife and mother.<sup>42</sup> Third, the stabbing of Medea's children occurs on-stage (and is prolonged<sup>43</sup>). Finally,

<sup>36</sup> See GOLDBERG (2000) on Roman tragedy's extensive participation in literary allusion. For intertextual analyses of Seneca's *Medea*, see HINDS (1993), (2011); CURLEY (2013), p. 228-232; TRINACTY (2014), p. 93-126; WALSH (2012); FANTHAM (1975); BOYLE (2014); HINE (2000).

<sup>37</sup> I thank an anonymous *Latomus* reviewer for reminding me that HENDERSON (1983) is a crucial starting point and *sine qua non* for understanding how Senecan poetics (even within his choral odes) is neither haphazard nor "baroque" for the sake of baroque-ness, but rather deeply allusive and finely intentional in vocabulary, theme, meter, and intratextuality. My analysis of *Medea* is indeed deeply indebted to this approach to the particulars of Seneca's tragedies.

<sup>38</sup> See, e.g., GILL (1987); FYFE (1983); BENTON (2003); WALSH (2012).

<sup>39</sup> KOHN (2013), p. 82 names this structure, without evidence, "Medea's house."

<sup>40</sup> MITCHELL-BOYASK (2007), p. 87-89, on Sophocles' *Philoctetes*.

<sup>41</sup> MITCHELL-BOYASK (2007), p. 95-98.

<sup>42</sup> For Medea's divinity, see WALSH (2012); FYFE (1983); for desire for the past and her relationship to time, see SCHIESARO (2003), p. 208-214; for identity as wife / mother, see GUASTELLA (2001); FYFE (1983); TRINACTY (2014), p. 97-111; MCAULEY (2015), p. 207-228; RIMELL (2012).

<sup>43</sup> On the interrupted murder, see WALSH (2018).

Seneca's *Medea* has no spatial or social destination at the end of the tragedy: she simply flies off into the boundless (and, according to Jason, godless: 1027 *nullos esse, qua ueheris, deos*) atmosphere.

How, then, do these differences in the content and tenor of this *Medea* tragedy entangle with the place of Pompey's theatre? In the following, I shall pursue three thematic nexuses that arise: (1) Golden ages before and after, (2) Venus and the Civil War, and (3) moments of transformation.

#### 4. *Golden ages of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE*

Seneca's play highlights the symmetry between *Medea*'s personal story and the macrocosmic Argonautic voyage. *Medea*, like the *Argo*, breaks boundaries of time, space, and natural law,<sup>44</sup> and the chorus make this explicit in their second ode:

*Audax nimium qui freta primus  
rate tam fragili perfida rupit* (301-302)

...

*Candida nostri saecula patres  
uidere procul fraude remota.* (329-330)

...

*Quod fuit huius pretium cursus?  
Aurea pellis  
maiusque mari Medea malum* (361-362)<sup>45</sup>

"Too bold he who first burst open the untrustworthy waves with such a fragile skiff

...

A gleaming age our fathers saw, with trickery removed far off.

...

What price / reward was there for this course? A golden skin and a greater evil than the sea: *Medea*."

The world prior to the *Argo* (*candida saecula*) is an age characterized by ease, contentment, and containment (note the spatial element of *procul*). This tragedy (and, microcosmically, *Medea*'s story) must be understood in terms of Roman literature about the loss of the Golden Age, as it paints a picture of the

<sup>44</sup> See RIMELL (2012) on *Medea*'s embodiment of broken boundaries; also SCHIESARO (2003), p. 208-214; FYFE (1983); WALSH (2011), p. 111-132, 148-155; CURLEY (2013), p. 230-233; HINDS (2011). See SEGAL (1983a) on micro- and macrocosmic echoes in Senecan tragedy generally. SEGAL (1983b), p. 230 argues for this resonance as an "Orphic voice" in Senecan tragedy that connects and contrasts the interiority of the hero with the natural peaceful world; for *Medea* as an "anti-Orpheus" who "belongs to a world where the limits of nature are violated," see p. 237-242.

<sup>45</sup> The text of *Medea* is from ZWIERLEIN (1986); I have noted any departures from his reading. All translations, unless otherwise marked, are my own.

contemporary Roman world as having crossed some fundamental boundary into moral corruption.<sup>46</sup>

Echoes of Roman Golden Age literature abound in the two Argonautic odes: Catullus 64; Verg., *Ecl.* 4 and 6; Hor., *Od.* 1.3; Ov., *Met.* 1.<sup>47</sup> The post-Catullan references either explicitly or implicitly (in the case of Ovid) mobilize Golden Age ideology and narratives to describe the Roman Civil Wars. Their ambivalence about Augustus' rise to power as a solution to moral decay (or, as Vergil states, as the birth of a new Golden Age) introduces a complicated timeline that, in those texts, connects the aftermath of the Argonautic voyage and pre-Augustan Rome: the Civil conflicts of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE represent a fundamental turning point in Rome's history. Through the allusions to late Republican poetry that couches Rome's political upheavals in terms of a cosmic cycle of human morality, Seneca's chorus thus invite a connection between Medea's story and the fall of the Roman republic.

When Seneca's chorus turn to their present – a post-lapsarian, morally compromised state of the world –, they focus in particular on the lack of boundaries (natural and social), the suffering of nature at the hands of human technology, and the displacement of people and structures into new locations. After the “too bold” Argonauts have breached the covenants of the universe, the present is full of spatial and cultural confusion:

*Nunc iam cessit pontus et omnes  
patitur leges* (364-365)

...

*Terminus omnis motus et urbes  
muros terra posuere noua,  
nil qua fuerat sede reliquit  
peruius orbis:  
Indus gelidum potat Araxen* (369-373)

...

*uenient annis saecula seris,  
quibus Oceanus uincula rerum  
laxet et ingens pateat tellus  
Tethysque nouos detegat orbis  
nec sit terris ultima Thule.* (375-379)

“Now already the sea yields and suffers all laws ... Every boundary moved, and cities place walls on new land, nothing in the place where it had been does the paved world leave behind: the Indian drinks the icy Araxes ... An age will come in later years, in which Oceanus will loose the chains of our affairs and the huge

<sup>46</sup> I agree with reading the aftermath of the *Argo* as chaotic, cf. SEGAL (1983b), p. 237-242, but I think the chaos of the post-lapsarian world functions, paradoxically, in a more ordered way than Segal allows.

<sup>47</sup> For discussion of the first three echoes, see WALSH (2011), p. 125-132. For discussion of Ov., *Met.*, see below.

earth will lie available, and Tethys will uncover new worlds, nor will Thule be 'the farthest' in the land."

Medea, as *pretium* of the voyage – a morally ambivalent consequence, parallels the ambiguous current state (*nunc iam*, 364) in which the chorus' (and the Romans'<sup>48</sup>) world is left confused and open.

How do ideas of pre- and post-lapsarian world, moral decay, and geographical displacement evoke particular interpretations of (or "intra-act" with) Pompey's theatre complex? Although this drama seems, on the surface, to have little to do with the monuments and places of Rome, Vasaly's injunction about Cicero is worth mentioning: "What is for us a recondite allusion to setting, extracted with some effort from the text, might well have been for Cicero's listeners immediately obvious." Roman textual allusions to place can indeed be "subtle" and "implicit," even erudite; Cicero's rhetoric makes use not just of his audience's physical surroundings but also "their 'metaphysical topography' – that is, the meaning these places would have held for a Roman audience in Cicero's time."<sup>49</sup> Similar analysis of Seneca, therefore, may have to attend to what seem now to be more oblique textual references to surroundings.<sup>50</sup>

I begin by proposing that the Campus Martius and Pompey's theatre can be coded within the context of the Argonautic Odes as structural examples of Roman *hubris* in the face of natural and divine law.<sup>51</sup> To some extent, the Campus Martius was already seen this way: Roman historians even in Seneca's day understood it as a place that *used to be* natural landscape, fundamentally and swiftly altered in Rome's transition from republic to empire.<sup>52</sup> Most of its monumental building activity occurred during the Civil Wars and Julio-Claudian principate. Its ambivalent semantics could thus be invoked: both a physical reminder of the cost of Rome's civil struggle and of the success and stability of post-Augustan Rome.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>48</sup> A spatial reference to VERG., *G.* 1.29-31 here (*an deus immensi uenias maris ac tua nautae / numina sola colant, tibi seruiat ultima Thule / teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis*) connects the ode specifically with Julius Caesar.

<sup>49</sup> VASALY (1993), p. 40-41.

<sup>50</sup> This can be understood as a topographical version of the "model" reader of Senecan tragedy – as well-versed in Roman poetry, oratory, and Greek tragedy. See n. 36 above for relevant scholarship.

<sup>51</sup> I largely follow the excellent volumes JACOBS / CONLIN (2014) and ALDRETE (2007), especially p. 33-38, 45-49, 182-183; see RUSSELL (2015) for spatio-political interpretation of the Republican city; FAVRO (1996) for Augustan Rome; RICHARDSON (1992), p. 65-67.

<sup>52</sup> JACOBS / CONLIN (2014), p. 138-139; cf. FAVRO (1996), p. 80-102, and p. 217-250, 270 for swiftness of change. Cf. CURLEY (2013), p. 231 on Medea as the outsider who shows the alienation of Romans from themselves.

<sup>53</sup> RUSSELL (2015), p. 20: "Meanings, memories, and even identities ... have no prior existence, and are called into being by performance: ... performed and re-performed." The *Campus* is also marked as part of the triumphal procession: see BEARD (2007),



The Campus could also communicate nature's resistance to human technology: separated from the Forum by the Capitoline, Quirinal, and Pincian hills and the Servian wall, the "field of Mars" sat originally outside the walls of the city.<sup>54</sup> It bridged Rome to the wild "outside," and specifically to a militarized citizenry, foreign emissaries, mercantile activity of the Forum Boarium and Forum Holitorium, and points accessed by means of the river (Ostia, the sea).<sup>55</sup> Its flat landscape contrasted the city's protective hills and structures, and it was prone to floods and disease-carrying mosquitoes – a dangerous place for buildings and human health.<sup>56</sup> As a liminal space beyond the built environment of the walled city, and as a place threatened by the resistance of nature, the Campus could reflect man's attempt to tame the inhospitable and barbaric.

Three events in the late 40s CE further inculcate theatrical spaces and the Campus Martius as part of Rome's disoriented identity. The first regards the senate: in 48 CE, the year before Seneca's return from exile, Claudius repeats Julius Caesar's act of bolstering senatorial numbers with foreigners. Tacitus reports the heightened anxieties and revived memories of Caesar: when Caesar had admitted Gauls to the senate, it was not only seen as a turning point towards Rome's decline, but also provided a decisive motive for his assassination.<sup>57</sup> Foreign senators could be made to signify Julio-Claudian corruption of the elite and an 'authentic' Romanness destabilized. And as a panoptic experience of class status, Roman theatre made outsiders in senatorial ranks highly visible.<sup>58</sup> Thus any textual focus on foreign or misplaced peoples – as we see in *Medea* – might call attention to the degree of Roman cultural authenticity present among audience members, as well as the physical location of 'Roman' and 'non-Roman' bodies.

p. 36-41, 80-85, asserting that the exact route is not confirmed (cf. FAVRO [1994]), but must have traversed the *Campus*.

<sup>54</sup> RICHARDSON (1992), p. 262-263.

<sup>55</sup> Common themes of Senecan tragedy – performance of (often violent) power, nature v. civilization (and nature's response to humanity), Roman cultural identity, and spectacle – would thus resonate generally in the *Campus*. For power, see BOYLE (1997), p. 46-50, 62; TARRANT (1985); for nature v. civilization, SEGAL (1983a); RIMELL (2012); LITTLEWOOD (2004), p. 151-171; for Roman identity BENTON (2003); for spectacle FANTHAM (2000); BOYLE (1997), p. 7-20; BENTON (2002).

<sup>56</sup> JACOBS / CONLIN (2014), p. 3-4, 131; ALDRETE (2007), p. 45-49, 54-55, 283, n. 44. Cf. RICHARDSON (1992), p. 65-67.

<sup>57</sup> Caesar: SUET., *Iul.* 80.2. Claudius: TAC., *Ann.* 11.23–25; *CIL* XIII.1668 (= *ILS* 212). WISEMAN (1971), p. 8 contests the un-Romanness of Caesar's and Claudius' new senators.

<sup>58</sup> E.g., EDMONDSON (2002). On Republican seating, see MANUWALD (2011), p. 107-108; MARSHALL (2006), p. 76-79; EDWARDS (1993), p. 110-119. TAC., *Ann.* 13.54.3-4 recounts German envoys at the Theatre of Pompey in the time of Nero, who move seats to claim status for themselves after observing other non-Romans sitting with senators in the front rows.

Second, in 49 CE, in honor of Rome's expansion into Britain, Claudius first brings the Campus Martius within the *pomerium* – Rome's protected space, whose extension necessitated not only a ritual to sanctify the religious boundary, but also relocation of any tombs now inside the city.<sup>59</sup> Upon return from exile,<sup>60</sup> Seneca would see Rome doubled in size,<sup>61</sup> the very boundary between alive and dead altered. With Claudius' extension, Rome itself "moved its boundary" and "placed walls on new lands"<sup>62</sup> (*Med.* 369-370). What was once exterior – the liminal Campus Martius itself – had become part of the city center.

Third are the *Ludi Saeculares* celebrated in the Campus Martius in 47 CE. This festival was meant to commemorate passing of a *saeculum* (110 years), marking the passage of time and Rome's metaphysical shift from one age into another. But the timing of Claudius' *ludi* (in 47 CE – justified as Rome's 800<sup>th</sup> year, but only 64 years after Augustus' *ludi* in 17 BCE) shows his manipulation of the natural temporality of the *saeculum*.<sup>63</sup> This resonates with the re-placing of the *pomerium* and his senatorial expansion: in these three acts, the emperor manipulates time, space, and Roman identity, presenting an artificial imposition of technology and man-made meaning onto the natural world. By the time of Seneca's return to Rome, then, the Campus Martius could be framed anew as a transitional and discombobulated place, potentially in accord with the end of the Golden Age as described in *Medea*'s first Argonautic Ode.

In the above contexts, *Medea*'s centralized foreignness and the play's focus on the post-Golden-Age displacement of peoples against the laws of nature (e.g., 373-374: *Indus, Persae*) might easily supply a reminder of Rome's disoriented present. Seneca breaks from Euripides in making *Medea* universally shunned by the Corinthians, fully an outsider,<sup>64</sup> while the chorus name human mobility as part of the death of their *candida saecula*. Yet this *Medea* monopolizes more time on stage than her Euripidean counterpart.<sup>65</sup> As the outsider exerts dramatic control over Corinth and infects the city with her crime, so her near-ubiquitous

<sup>59</sup> RICHARDSON (1992), p. 294-295 notes Claudian *cippi* found in the northern *Campus Martius*; he proposes that the new boundary included all of the *Campus* except tombs on the *Via Flaminia* (including Augustus' mausoleum). The moved *pomerium* is attested at SEN., *de Breu. Vit.* 13.8 (cf. GELL. 13.14.4-7); TAC., *Ann.* 12.23. For its religious importance, including changes in function between Republic and Empire, see BEARD / NORTH / PRICE (1998), p. 177-181.

<sup>60</sup> TAC., *Ann.* 12.8.

<sup>61</sup> BEARD / NORTH / PRICE (1998), p. 177: "the *pomerium* [area went] up from 325 hectares to 665 (under Claudius)."

<sup>62</sup> This makes an interesting case for the A manuscript reading, *nouos*: "placed new walls on the land." I thank K. O. Chong-Gossard for calling this to my attention.

<sup>63</sup> SUET., *Claud.* 21.2; TAC., *Ann.* 11.11. For the festival's imperial reconfiguration, see BEARD / NORTH / PRICE (1998), p. 201-206.

<sup>64</sup> BENTON (2003) reads *Medea* as embodying Corinthian prejudices.

<sup>65</sup> See, e.g., BOYLE (1997), p. 123-133.

presence onstage threatens the Romanness of the audience and the city;<sup>66</sup> with this Medea, “Rome herself becomes the Other heretofore kept at arm’s length.”<sup>67</sup> Medea’s dominance of the stage calls attention to the potential for cultural dysphoria in the context of the theatre and invites audience members to question each other’s part in creating Rome’s problematic present.

Pompey’s theatre also represents a shift in the semantics of the Campus Martius; it dominates its surroundings in size and stature (larger by far than the two other stone theatres built later), a monument of man’s impressing itself upon nature. The story of its dedication, for Pompey’s third triumph in 61 BCE, reinforces the structure as a memorial to Roman *imperium sine fine*.<sup>68</sup> According to Plutarch, Pompey’s triumphs – despite the fact that some of his enemies were Romans – marked his conquest of the three continents Europe, Asia, and Africa. As Beard states, “[the triumph] was a celebration ... of Pompey the Great as world conqueror, and of Roman power as world empire.”<sup>69</sup> An imperial audience would be reminded of the Theatre’s dedicator, since Claudius had had Pompey’s name reinscribed on it (perhaps even on the *frons* itself).<sup>70</sup>

During Seneca’s lifetime, Pompey’s theatre was also a singular structure in the Campus. In all Roman theatres, audience seating was regulated, and this fact made any theatrical performance an experience of visible and embodied class differences,<sup>71</sup> but Pompey’s in addition invited potential religious and political activity. It was the only permanent theatre that, as an ostensible “temple,” could serve as meeting place for the Senate.<sup>72</sup> Its temple to *Venus uictrix* was integral to the whole complex, and not least as its justification for construction of the first stone theatre in Rome. Its “interplay of nature and artifice”<sup>73</sup> thus could additionally be thought to triumph over traditional Roman division (however artificial) between theatre and politics: Pompey’s theatre, as the only dedicated theatre-temple in Rome, offered a space for confusion of political and theatrical actors.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>66</sup> RIMELL (2012), p. 3, 8-13. Cf. ZANKER (1990), p. 24, on the time of Augustus: “the city of Rome itself made it impossible for her people to identify with their country.”

<sup>67</sup> CURLEY (2013), p. 231.

<sup>68</sup> VERG., A. 1.279. For relevance to *Medea*, see CURLEY (2013), p. 230-233; RIMELL (2012); LITTLEWOOD (2004), p. 167-169; BENTON (2003).

<sup>69</sup> BEARD (2007), p. 10. See also discussion of Venus and the Theatre’s opening, which connect Pompey, the Trojan War, and Rome’s conquering of Greece (p. 22-23, 27-28). Cf. RUSSELL (2015), p. 162-164, 178 on the complex as triumphal monument.

<sup>70</sup> CASS. DIO 60.6.8-9, but the location is vague; RICHARDSON (1992), p. 384 seems to assume the *frons* with the names of Tiberius and Claudius.

<sup>71</sup> Note 58 above.

<sup>72</sup> PLIN., *HN* 8.20; GELL., 10.1.7; TERT., *De Spect.* 10.

<sup>73</sup> RUSSELL (2015), p. 180-182, on poets’ assessments of the Theatre.

<sup>74</sup> For anxieties about theatre and Roman civic identity, see EDWARDS (1993), p. 98-124. See, e.g., CIC., *Pro Sest.* 105; *Ad Att.* 2.19.3; 4.1.6 for Pompey’s theatre as a politically active site.

If Pompey's complex embodies a narrative of Rome's history as world conqueror and its present as a man-made twisting of natural order, the irony that Pompey himself was ousted from his position of power (due to a breakdown in family relations, some might say) presents its own semantic opportunity. Indeed, the most obvious "end of the Golden Age" narrative which might surface in a performance of Seneca's *Medea* in the Theatre of Pompey is Rome's own transition from republic to empire, in which Pompey played a crucial role. This connection is invited in part by the chorus' use of late republican and early imperial Golden Age poetry, but the political transition comes to the fore not only because many structures in the Campus Martius commemorate the civil conflicts of the late 1st century BCE, but specifically because of the Theatre's adjacency to the *porticus Argonautorum* – a popular walkway northeast of Pompey's portico, known for its large fresco of the Argonauts.<sup>75</sup> While audience members in Pompey's theatre may not have been able to see the walkway directly, they would have been aware of its proximity and the fact that it lay, facing them, on the side wall of the *saepta Iulia*.<sup>76</sup>

The *saepta Iulia* brings its own historical import: prior to its renovation and renaming by Julius Caesar, the *saepta* was an unenclosed area where the *comitia centuriata* and *tributa* voted in elections; as such, it was fundamental to the functioning of the Republic.<sup>77</sup> Following construction of the enclosure, begun by Julius Caesar and finished under Augustus in 26 BCE,<sup>78</sup> it not only became a walled edifice, but its function was also converted (under Augustus) to host gladiatorial combat and other entertainments. The structure itself could be harnessed as an example of Julian change to the city landscape, made perhaps under a premise of bolstering the political structures of the republic, but whose function quickly lost political relevance under the principate. As Boyle states, in the temporal context of Ovid's Rome,

the Saepta Iulia brilliantly encapsulated the central contradiction of Augustan ideology. Ostensibly underscoring the image of the *princeps* as restorer of the

<sup>75</sup> CASS. DIO 53.27.1: "Stoa of Poseidon," but association with the Argonautic fresco was such that Roman authors identify it by that feature exclusively (e.g., MART. 2.14.5-6, 11.1.12, 3.20.11). The name *porticus Argonautorum* was standardized in GATTI (1940); see RICHARDSON (1992), p. 312.

<sup>76</sup> RUSSELL (2015), p. 162-166 shows that Pompey's complex was thought of as a single ideological entity (thus the *saepta* being closer to the portico than to the Theatre is of little importance). OV., AA 1.491-504 (see BOYLE [2003], p. 261, 265-266) and MART. 2.14 (see PRIOR [1996], p. 123-124, 129-135) both seem to associate the *saepta Iulia*, *porticus Argonautorum*, and Pompey's theatre complex as belonging to the same neighborhood. SEN., *de Ira* 2.8.1 claims the *saepta* was a bustling meeting area.

<sup>77</sup> See RICHARDSON (1992), p. 340-341 on the *saepta*; TAYLOR (1966), p. 46-52 for its function; PHILLIPS (2015), p. 236-240 on temporal and ideological association between the *saepta Iulia*, Pantheon, *Curia Iulia*, Temple to *Diuus Iulius*, and the emperor Augustus.

<sup>78</sup> CASS. DIO 53.23.2.

republic, it yet constituted an iconic monument of his political supremacy and power. It quickly became another of Rome's great recreational spaces ...; its function as a voting enclosure disappeared under Tiberius.<sup>79</sup>

When the chorus of *Medea* recount the Argonautic voyage, the closest visual representation of that story sits, not far from Pompey's complex and just beyond eyesight of spectators in the theatre, on the building whose original – and essential – political function ended with the concretization of imperial government.<sup>80</sup> By forging a connection between the Argonautic voyage, the end of the Golden Age, and the story of Medea, Seneca's *Medea* performed in proximity to the *saepa* frames the end of the Roman republic as an end of the Golden Age, played out in the action of Medea's tragedy. In Pompey's theatre, as both a monument to Pompey's global triumph and a reminder of his subsequent defeat in the Civil War, this *Medea* also forges a link between the individuals – Medea and Jason, Caesar and Pompey – whose private, familial vendettas are entangled with cataclysmic social changes.

### 5. *Venus and the Civil War*

The second intra-action of *Medea* with the Theatre of Pompey involves *amor* and Venus, both of which are strangely lacking in Seneca's version of Medea's myth.<sup>81</sup> The chorus misread Medea and state that she still loves Jason in the time of the play (849-869); Medea herself only sees her love for Jason as a thing that existed in the past (397-398: *Si quaeris odio, misera, quem statuas modum, / imitare amorem*; 136: *saeuit infelix amor*). Medea makes no appeals to Venus in the tragedy, despite her early focus on her marriage: *Di coniugales tuque genialis tori, / Lucina, custos* (1-2). The absences of Venus and *amor* frustrate audience expectations that Medea seeks the return of Jason's love.<sup>82</sup> In the Theatre of Pompey, these absences might take on particular significance

<sup>79</sup> BOYLE (2003), p. 267; cf. GOWING (2005), p. 134.

<sup>80</sup> The ecphrastic detail of the Argonautic odes mimics an orator's ability to "induce his audience to imagine a *locus* [outside their line of sight] through his employment of vivid description", VASALY (1993), p. 101; cf. p. 63, on the *Curia Hostilia*: "Cicero's audience at the time of the Catilinarian conspiracy would, like Piso, have carried in their minds two images of the area where they were assembled, that of the present and that which existed before the many changes in the Forum wrought by Sulla."

<sup>81</sup> WALSH (2012), p. 93, n. 59. The contrast is more noticeable when compared to Ovid's Medeas in the *Heroides* and *Metamorphoses*. For Seneca's use of the Heroidean Medea, see TRINACTY (2014), p. 97-126.

<sup>82</sup> Seneca's Medea prays to multiple deities, including those of marriage (1-2), Minerva, Neptune, Apollo, Hecate, Chaos, and Proserpina (2-12), her grandfather (28-39), Jupiter (531-537), and multiple deities again in the magic scene (740-839). Eight instances of *amor* stand in contrast to Seneca's *Phaedra*: Venus is mentioned thirteen times and *amor* twenty times. Valerius Flaccus also connects Medea to Venus: BUCKLEY (2013), p. 90-98; HERSHKOWITZ (1998), p. 33-35.

by drawing an audience's attention toward the literally looming presence of Venus' temple.<sup>83</sup>

While the temple need not have been in view to affect an audience's interpretation of a performance, the layout of the complex is such that the goddess' presence must have constantly asserted itself into the audience's gaze. Recent reconstructions extend the height of the temple, situated at the western end, above the *cauea*.<sup>84</sup> In the afternoon, then, the shadow of the temple (a reminder of the goddess) would have travelled across the *cauea*, moving closer to the stage over the course of performances.<sup>85</sup> Thus Venus' presence during a performance of *Medea* in Pompey's theatre would be palpable, both through the memorialization of the place as a sacred space for her worship, but also because of the pointed *absence* of Medea's *amor* in the play, which begs the audience to fill in the conspicuous omission.<sup>86</sup>

Why call attention to the temple of Venus in the theatre? I suggest that placing this Medea, with her complex and paradoxical relationship to motherhood and revenge, in proximity to the Temple of *Venus uictrix* highlights the competing Venuses monumentalized in this temple and in Julius Caesar's temple – to *Venus genetrix* – in his Forum, introducing yet another link between Medea and the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey.

Built during the breakdown of the republic, the two Venus temples could be mobilized as symbols of the disastrous political competition between the two leaders.<sup>87</sup> The chronology of the temples' development shows close association in their planning: Caesar's forum was "conceived at least as early as 54 B.C., when Caesar commissioned Oppius and Cicero to buy the land he would need."<sup>88</sup> Pompey's temple was supposedly vowed in 61 BCE, after his triumphal celebrations, but its dedication is thought to have occurred in 55 BCE (perhaps with construction completed or a separate dedication in 52 BCE).<sup>89</sup> Thus our historical sources support the idea that Caesar might have been planning his temple while Pompey's complex was still under construction.

Appian later makes a clear parallel between the two temples in his account of the Civil War, alleging that on the eve of the battle of Pharsalus Caesar and

<sup>83</sup> See n. 68 above.

<sup>84</sup> MONTERROSO CHECA (2006), p. 48-50; PACKER (2014). Cf. SEAR (2006), p. 59-60 on the temple; p. 57-61 on the theatre. RUSSELL (2015), p. 157-160 discusses the competing reconstructions.

<sup>85</sup> Further research would be to explore precise pathways of the temple shadow for particular Roman *ludi*.

<sup>86</sup> Allusions to *Venus uictrix* might be seen in repeated use of *uincere*: by Medea to describe her past and present deeds at *Med.* 121, 479, 828, and by the Nurse (of Medea) at 394.

<sup>87</sup> See, e.g., GOLDBERG (1998), p. 12, n. 35; ULRICH (1993).

<sup>88</sup> RICHARDSON (1992), p. 165-166, citing *Cic., Att.* 4.16.8.

<sup>89</sup> STAMPER (2005), p. 238, n. 10. Cf. RUSSELL (2015), p. 164-166 on the controversial rededication in 52 BCE.

Pompey made a vow and had a dream, respectively, that they would each build a temple to *Venus uictrix*.<sup>90</sup> The two combatants are identified with each other, sharing an architectural dedication to this goddess. Appian's version, however, highlights the ironic outcomes of their vows: Pompey conquers Caesar in finishing a temple first (thus Pompey's dream comes true), but Caesar, although he ultimately wins the war and, arguably, has greater claim to Venus' allegiance (as her putative descendant), not only has to adjust the dedicatee of his temple so as to distinguish himself from Pompey, but also does not live to see its completion.<sup>91</sup> While Appian is not meant to represent a 1<sup>st</sup> century CE Roman audience, it is telling that, in his text, the Venus temples of Pompey and Caesar stand as symbols of their civil conflict.<sup>92</sup>

Additional aspects of Seneca's text point to the temple of *Venus genetrix* and ties between the Venus temples of Pompey and Caesar. There is, most obviously, the visual connection between Medea herself and the artistic program of Caesar's temple: as with the portico of the Argonauts (where the choral odes might direct attention to the *saepta Iulia*), so any performance of *Medea* in Rome might bring to mind the well-known Timomachus painting of Medea, which Caesar had placed in his temple to *Venus genetrix*. According to ancient sources, the painting depicted her in the process of deciding upon the murder,<sup>93</sup> and Gurd argues that Caesar imported the painting following his victory at Pharsalus. If both the above are true, then Timomachus' Medea might have carried with it a more specific connotation of Caesar's victory over Pompey and a connection between Medea's infanticide and the end of the Civil War.<sup>94</sup>

An intertextual reference also invites a viewer of Seneca's *Medea* to think of the temple to *Venus genetrix* and Caesar's Forum: a sustained allusion to an episode in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* 3 (447-452), in which the poet, warning his

<sup>90</sup> APP., *BC* 2.68-69. Appian dates the vows to 48 BCE, despite an accepted dedication date of Pompey's temple in the 50s BCE: STAMPER (2005), p. 84-90; RICHARDSON (1992), p. 384. Why Caesar would vow a temple to *Venus uictrix* five years after Pompey's synonymous one, or why Pompey would vow another temple to his theatre's patron is unclear. BOYLE (2003), p. 203 seems to trust Appian for the original title of Caesar's temple. STAMPER (2005), p. 92-93 implies that Caesar only learned about the name duplication *after* the war. It seems preferable to me that Appian fabricates the episode to emphasize the architectural and historical irony of their fates.

<sup>91</sup> The temple of *Venus genetrix* is thought to have been completed under Octavian in 29 BCE: STAMPER (2005), p. 93; AUG., *RG* 4.20.3.

<sup>92</sup> For Martial on Caesar's Forum and the southern *Campus Martius*, see LAURENCE (2011), p. 88-89.

<sup>93</sup> See PLIN., *HN* 7.126, 35.26, 35.136. GUTZWILLER (2004), p. 344: "The huge price paid suggests that the painting had already acquired the status of cultural icon by the time of Caesar's purchase and dedication." Cf. GURD (2007), p. 308; BOYLE (2014), p. lxxii-lxxiii, lxxvii-lxxviii.

<sup>94</sup> GURD (2007), p. 308.



readers about the faithlessness of men, offers an image of girls who have had their robes stolen pleading their cases within eyesight of Venus' temple:

*forsitan ex horum numero cultissimus ille  
fur sit, et uratur uestis amore tuae.  
'Redde meum' clamant spoliatae saepe puellae,  
'redde meum' toto uoce boante foro.  
Has, Venus, e templis multo radiantibus auro  
lenta uides lites Appiadesque tuae.*

"Perhaps the most suave of all these men is a thief  
And he's on fire with lust for your robe.  
'Return what is mine' yell all the fleeced girls,  
'Return what's mine' the whole forum screams.  
You view these fights, Venus, from your gold-bright shrine  
Unmoved – you and your Appian nymphs."<sup>95</sup>

Reference to this passage in Seneca's *Medea* might be detected in Medea's repeated use of *redde* at 246 (*redde crimen*), 272-273 (*redde fugienti ratem / uel redde comitem*), 482 (*redde supplici felix uicem*), 489 (*redde fugienti sua*). Ovid's characterization of the girls as *spoliatae* (AA 3.449) may also find echoes at *Med.* 471, 609, 664, 913, 983, where the tragedy focuses on the theft of the Argonauts, and where Medea herself is included among the spoils. In addition, the imagery of the girls' stolen robes (*uratur uestis amore*, AA 3.448) and Venus' golden presence might be evocative of Creusa's robe at *Med.* 817-824, where Medea points to the thief Prometheus and sun deities as sources for the golden burning poison:

*Tu nunc uestes tinge Creusae,  
quas cum primum sumpserit, imas  
urat serpens flamma medullas.  
Ignis fuluo clusus in auro  
latet obscurus, quem mihi caeli  
qui furta luit uiscere feto  
dedit et docuit condere uires  
arte, Prometheus; dedit et tenui  
sulphure tectos Mulciber ignes,  
et uiuacis fulgura flammae  
de cognato Phaethonte tuli.*

"You now taint the robes of Creusa – when she first puts them on, winding flame will burn her inmost bones. The fire hides occluded in tawny gold, (fire) which he who paid for a theft with fruitful innards gave to me and taught to hide strength in skill, Prometheus; and Mulciber gave fires covered in soft sulphur, and I carried sparks of living flame from kinsman Phaethon."

<sup>95</sup> Translation from BOYLE (2003), p. 99.

The allusion is effective in connecting Medea to Ovid's female victims in Caesar's Forum, under the gaze of *Venus genetrix*, who, like Medea, seek the return of what is theirs from a thieving man. The reference highlights the concupiscence of the Argonauts in the Senecan context, where Medea becomes one of the despoiled girls. Caesar's Venus looks on with a problematic passivity (*lenta*) toward injustice – against Medea, as one of the girls, but also, in the context of the magic scene, against Creusa (with Medea as the offender). Seneca's text thus turns Ovid's use of mythological "perfidious lovers" (including, at AA 3.457-460, Theseus and Demophoon)<sup>96</sup> into an indictment not only of Jason and the Argonauts, but also of Medea, who uses her own "stolen robe" to commit crime against another despoiled woman.

The *Medea* also could be said to bridge<sup>97</sup> the ideological divide between Venus as *uictrix* and Venus as *genetrix* in Medea's self-characterization as she designs and carries out her revenge. Scholars have puzzled over the fact that Seneca's Medea seems paradoxically focused on her status as mother – desiring to undo her maternity by going back in time or by killing the children yet clinging to her maternal status to justify the severity of her vengeance (see especially 1008 and 1012, where Medea seems to call herself *mater* after killing one child and threatening to abort any inside her body).<sup>98</sup> The meaning of this competitive relationship between motherhood and revenge is made clearer when perceived alongside Pompey's temple to *Venus uictrix*, itself chronologically and politically followed by Caesar's (and Augustus') *Venus genetrix*, part of the Augustan iconography of fruitfulness, reproduction, marital chastity: a maternal and not warlike Venus.<sup>99</sup> Medea's character, then, read as a Venus-like figure who embodies the two aspects of Pompey's and Caesar's temples, with the role of begetter in conflict with her martial proclivities. Medea's physical position at the end of the tragedy – elevated in her chariot, vertically more aligned with *Venus uictrix* – emphasizes both Medea's difference from Jason and the audience and her similarity to the goddess; the affinity would be especially apparent if

<sup>96</sup> This reinforces a connection, already present in Seneca's *Medea*, between Medea and Ariadne as abandoned heroines. See GAISSE (1995); FANTHAM (1975); WALSH (2011), p. 176-184.

<sup>97</sup> While unlikely that Pompey's Venus could "see" the temple in Caesar's Forum (though their heights and those of interceding buildings are still uncertain), *Venus uictrix* might have been *understood* as "gazing" over the northern Capitoline at rival (and usurper?) *genetrix*. Thus the patron deities of the two civil war rivals might have been seen as sharing a line of sight.

<sup>98</sup> On Medea's paradoxical relationship to her maternity, see SEGAL (1983b), p. 241-242; GUASTELLA (2001); MCAULEY (2015), p. 207-228; RIMELL (2012). On Medea's maternity necessitating greater crime, see *Med.* 45-50; FYFE (1983); HINDS (2011), p. 25-26; TRINACTY (2014), p. 97-101; on Medea's manipulation of time, see SCHIESARO (2003), p. 208-214; WALSH (2012), p. 77-84.

<sup>99</sup> On Caesar and Augustus' iconography of Venus as *genetrix*, see STAMPER (2005), p. 93-94; ZANKER (1990), p. 172-179.

the temple's shadow had moved towards the stage during the performance.<sup>100</sup> Medea's exiting position then evokes a linear association between the two Venuses themselves, whose temples are oriented almost precisely along the East-West axis formed by Pompey's building complex.

Finally, similarities between Seneca's Medea, Caesar and Venus might be enhanced by this Medea's emphasis on her divine heritage. This aspect of her character seems to be a particular focus of Seneca's version.<sup>101</sup> In the first half of the tragedy, Medea emphasizes her relationship to her grandfather, the sun (27-34, 209-210, 510-512). Her magic is successful in overturning nature and destroying the city of Corinth: *alit unda flammas, quoque prohibetur magis / magis ardet ignis* (889-890). And at the end of the play, she exits triumphant on a chariot drawn by dragons while Jason futilely attempts to deny her divine status: *testare nullos esse, qua ueheris, deos* (1027).

Throughout, Medea expresses her divinity in terms of gold and radiance: e.g., *inclitam* (511), *fulsi* (209, 218), *clarum* (210). In addition to any resonance with Ovid's specific depiction of *Venus genetrix* as radiant and golden (AA 3.451), and in addition to Medea's reference to her father as *genitor* (the masculine of *genetrix*, 216), the focus on divinity serves to connect Medea and Julius Caesar further, descended from gods and associated with golden and solar imagery.<sup>102</sup> Caesar's chosen epithet for his ancestress – "*genetrix*" – was "never before given to Venus or any other deity."<sup>103</sup> Caesar's Venus was thus in part his own invented deity, designed to highlight his lineage and connect himself, presciently, to the divine.

## 6. Moments of transformation

Intra-actions of this text and the Theatre of Pompey so far have pointed to a reading of the play as having to do with the war between Caesar and Pompey and its aftermath. One final observation cements this interpretation. Seneca's

<sup>100</sup> A *Latomus* reviewer reminds me that this is possible only in Pompey's theatre (and not the others in Rome), and suggests that because Pompey's theatre was the tallest of the three, it is the location where Medea's ascent to the top of the *scaena* would have had the most impact on an audience.

<sup>101</sup> See above n. 42.

<sup>102</sup> Also relevant Caesar's statue in his temple to Venus, which featured a star above his head (BOYLE [2003], p. 203, who cites CASS. DIO 45.7.1; PLIN., *HN* 35.156; SUET., *Iul.* 88) – presumably a reference to the "Julian comet," but it may have also connected Caesar and sun worship. SEN., *NQ* 7.17 notes Caesar's comet appearing during the games for *Venus genetrix*: *post excessum diui Iulii ludis Veneris Genetricis circa undecimam horam diei emersit*. For Caesar, Apollo, and light in Vergil's *Georgics*: NELIS (2016), p. 67-72. For Caesar as Phaethon / sun (also in the *Georgics*): GALE (2000), p. 35-36. For Seneca's Medea as Phaethon: LITTLEWOOD (2004), p. 155-156; WALSH (2012), p. 87-88; cf. BOYLE (2014), p. cxv, *ad* 32-6 and 559-602.

<sup>103</sup> STAMPER (2005), p. 93.

version of *Medea*, more so than Euripides' play and more than Seneca's other tragedies, prompts a focus on moments and causes of state transformation (political and ontological). In *Medea*, the Argonautic voyage is a transformational moment, where covenants between man and nature are fundamentally and irreparably broken. Medea herself, a mirror of the voyage, also transforms over the course of the play, from socially-embedded mortal woman to transcendent divinity. The absence of Aegeus, whom those familiar with Euripides might expect, pushes Seneca's Medea further from human society. In the final line of the tragedy (1027), Jason (ineffectually) insists *nullos esse, qua ueheris, deos* – implying Medea believes she is headed to an immortal plane (*in caelum*, 1022). And Seneca's use of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* strengthens this reading:<sup>104</sup> the tragedy can be seen as an unpacking of Medea's (abrupt) Ovidian narrative, where one can watch and understand her transformation from maiden to monstrous goddess.<sup>105</sup>

Links with Ovid's epic are not confined to Medea's story, however. The chorus in particular invoke imagery and language from the *Metamorphoses* in describing the Argonautic voyage and its effects. They list Argonauts mentioned in the *Metamorphoses* among the punished in the second Argonautic Ode (*Med.* 579-669): Orpheus, Idmon, Meleager, and Hercules.<sup>106</sup> The first Argonautic Ode, moreover, refers heavily to language used in Ovid's description of the ages of man (*Met.* 1.89-97, 127-134):

*Aurea prima sata est aetas, quae uindice nullo,  
sponte sua, sine lege fidem rectumque colebat.  
Poena metusque aberant, nec uerba minantia fixo  
aere legebantur, nec supplex turba timebat  
iudicis ora sui, sed erant sine uindice tuti.  
Nondum caesa suis, peregrinum ut uiseret orbem,  
montibus in liquidas pinus descenderat undas,  
nullaque mortales praeter sua litora norant;  
nondum praecipites cingebant oppida fossae  
...*

*... de duro est ultima ferro.  
Protinus inrupit uenae peioris in aeuum  
omne nefas: fugere pudor uerumque fidesque;  
in quorum subiere locum fraudesque dolusque  
insidiaeque et uis et amor sceleratus habendi.*

<sup>104</sup> An anonymous reviewer suggests that Ovid's *Medea* tragedy is of more use here, as a performed text of a character with whom Ovid was "obsessed." It is all but certain that Seneca responds to Ovid's tragedy, but the fact that Ovid rewrote Medea into his *Metamorphoses* is significant, I think, in marking her transformational status, as is Seneca's use thereof, especially alongside other *Metamorphoses* allusions.

<sup>105</sup> WALSH (2012).

<sup>106</sup> These are discussed in HINDS (2011); cf. BOYLE (2014), *ad loc.*

*Vela dabant uentis nec adhuc bene nouerat illos  
nauita, quaeque prius steterant in montibus altis,  
fluctibus ignotis insultauere carinae*

“Golden was the first begotten age, which, with no protector, by its own will, and without law fostered trust and rightness. Punishment and fear were far off, nor were threatening words dispatched on affixed bronze, nor did a suppliant crowd fear the speech of its own judge, but they were safe without a protector. Not yet cut down from its own mountains, so that it might see a foreign world, had the pine descended into watery waves, and mortals knew no shores but their own; not yet did headlong trenches surround walls ... Of hard iron is the last (race). Immediately every crime of worse disposition burst into the age: shame and truth and trust fled; in place of which arose deceptions and fraud and schemes and power and a polluted love of possession. They gave sails to the winds and the sailor still did not know those well, and what had stood before on high mountains, they now – as boats – abused unknown waves.”

Ovid’s text connects sea-faring explicitly with the progression of the ages of mankind, and it figures this progression as a metamorphosis in its own right: the human species (*proles*, *Met.* 1.125) is fundamentally transformed by the act of subjecting the waves to ships. Seneca’s ode (*Med.* 301-372) clearly harnesses language from the above passage: *nondum* (309, 311, 316), *fid-* (302, 306), *no(ue)rat* (309, 334), *rupit* (302), *pinus* (336), *uentis* (320), *uelo* (328), *fraude* (330), *nauita* (327), *tutas* (324), *leges* (320), *sua litora* (331), *metus* (338), *poenas* (340), *orbis* (372). Through allusion to Ovid’s epic, Seneca’s chorus couch the Argonautic voyage which frames Medea’s tragedy not just in terms of a pre- and post-lapsarian narrative, but specifically in terms of ontological transformation.<sup>107</sup>

Within Seneca’s tragedy, Medea’s experience parallels that of the world: the broken *fides* of Medea and Jason’s union echoes the chorus’ lament over broken *foedera* (335: *bene dissaepiti foedera mundi*); the new world, marked by openness (377: *pateat tellus*) parallels Jason’s new vulnerability in losing his children (550: *uulneri patuit locus*).<sup>108</sup> Seneca presents the tragedy as a spectacle of Medea’s transformation from mortal to divine that correlates with the metamorphic force of the Argonautic transgression. However, the result is anything but inevitable; it is in no small part Medea’s “outsider” status, the continued and militant refusal of other characters in the tragedy to accept her presence in Corinth, that catalyzes her actions and metamorphosis.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>107</sup> This reference is completely unnoticed in WALSH (2012). BOYLE (2014), p. lxxxvi-lxxxix and *ad loc.* mentions the allusion without discussion of its metamorphic import.

<sup>108</sup> See BOYLE (2014), *ad loc.* for *patere* and the Roman imperial project; cf. CURLEY (2013), p. 230-232; LITTLEWOOD (2004), p. 166-168; HENDERSON (1983) on the second Argonautic ode.

<sup>109</sup> WALSH (2012); WALSH (2018) shows how the tragedy “plays” with audience expectations of the outcome. For Medea’s revenge as inevitable, however, see LITTLEWOOD (2004), p. 151-156.

Medea's metamorphosis and the metamorphic tone of this tragedy would invite an audience in the Theatre of Pompey to remember another transition from human to divine, an ineradicable part of the structure's history: that of Julius Caesar. Pompey's theatre, *Curia*, *Horti*, and porticoes are described by Roman writers not as separate entities but as a cohesive whole: the theatre could easily commingle with the *Curia* as the site of Caesar's death.<sup>110</sup> It is possible also that the *scaenae frons* of Pompey's theatre emphasized the "connection" and "permeability" between theatre and portico.<sup>111</sup> But the memory of Caesar's assassination would be directly reinforced for a 1<sup>st</sup> century CE audience by the statue of Pompey, relocated by Augustus into the theatre, before which (while in the *Curia*) Caesar was remembered to have fallen at the moment of his death.<sup>112</sup> The theatre, in its associations with Pompey's complex and with the visual reminder of Pompey's image already has potential to be memorialized as a site of Caesar's assassination.

Medea's metamorphosis and the choral construction of the Argonautic voyage as a transubstantiating moment (via Ovid) resonate with a reading of Caesar's assassination as transformative. Caesar's death quickly came to be characterized as an apotheosis, and this very notion – that a mortal might become apotheosed immediately after death – itself represents a major transformation in the Roman cultural imagination.<sup>113</sup> Koortbojian adopts the assumption that the "consecratio [of Caesar] profoundly transformed Roman society and reconfigured its relations to its gods." He continues:

the Romans of the late republic had no tradition – neither official rites nor social mechanisms – on which to base the actual procedure ... [It was] unlike other institutions that arose with the principate ... the institution of the new *divus* constituted a challenge to the traditional religious division between the spheres of men and gods."<sup>114</sup>

Koortbojian emphasizes how slowly the city's political and social institutions adapted to the idea of a recently living person becoming *diuus*. Seneca's *Medea*, however, hearkens not to the prolonged process of *consecratio*, but rather to Ovid's versions of Caesar's death where he (or, in the *Fasti*, his *simulacra*) is immediately counted among the divine; in Ovid's stories, Caesar becomes a god right where, in Pompey's complex, the *Medea*'s audience is sitting. So if

<sup>110</sup> RUSSELL (2015), p. 162-166.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>112</sup> PLUT., *Caes.* 66.12-13; CASS. DIO 44.52.1; NIC. DAM. 24. For the relocation, RICHARDSON (1992), p. 384 follows SUET. *Aug.* 31.5; see ROLFE (1914) on the difficulty of establishing its position.

<sup>113</sup> Seneca describing Caesar's death as *excessum diui Iulii* at *NQ* 7.17.2 (and Augustus' as *diui Augusti excessum* at *NQ* 1.1.3) echoes Cicero on the death of Romulus (e.g., *Rep.* 2.23.4, 2.52.13; *Leg.* 1.3.7). WARDLE (2009), p. 107 connects Caesar's deification to that of Romulus: he provided for Caesar "good Roman precedent."

<sup>114</sup> KOORTBOJIAN (2013), p. 10-11, italics in original.

the *Medea* suggests that its protagonist ascends to godhood in the context of humanity's very transformation into a post-lapsarian state of being, an audience may be compelled to reflect on Caesar's apotheosis and the unprecedented novelty of a deified emperor.<sup>115</sup>

One "provocation" rising from the nexus of Medea's metamorphosis, Caesar's apotheosis, and the transformation of the state / humanity from a pre- to post-lapsarian condition, is to look towards Ovid's telling of Caesar's assassination in *Fasti* 3. Intentionally buried as an afterthought to multiple etiologies of the festival of *Anna Perenna*,<sup>116</sup> the passage reveals interesting similarities with the second Argonautic ode of Seneca's *Medea*.

After almost "passing by the swords planted in the princeps" (*Fas.* 3.697) and hearing Vesta's injunction to remember Caesar's death (*ne dubita meminisse*, 3.699), the narrator comments (*Fas.* 3.705-710):

*at quicumque nefas ausi, prohibente deorum  
numine, polluerant pontificale caput,  
morte iacent merita*

...

*Hoc opus, haec pietas, haec prima elementa fuerunt  
Caesaris, ulcisci iusta per arma patrem.*

"But whoever having dared this crime, when the will of the gods forbid it, defiled the pontifical head, they lie with a merited death ... This act, this piety, these were the first building blocks of Caesar [Augustus], to have avenged his father through righteous arms."

Compare Seneca's chorus on the punishment of the Argonauts (*Med.* 607-616):

*Quisquis audacis tetigit carinae  
nobiles remos nemorisque sacri  
Pelion densa spoliauit umbra;  
quisquis intrauit scopulos uagantes*

...

*exitu diro temerata ponti  
iura piauit.  
Exigit poenas mare prouocatum.*

<sup>115</sup> HENDERSON (1983) supports this reading of the Argonauts' punishments (and Medea as punitive force) as representing unprecedented, incomprehensible, and dissonant transition: "'she' [Medea] figures unregulated irregularity – power that cannot be overpowered" (p. 95).

<sup>116</sup> The first etiology – Anna as Dido's sister – is a source for Seneca's *Medea*: most plainly, Aeneas' bare foot on the beach (Ov., *Fas.* 3.604, *secretum nudo dum pede carpit iter*; cf. SEN., *Med.* 753, *secreta nudo nemora lustrari pede*); but also fraternal threats (Ov., *Fas.* 3.577, *frater adest belloque petit*; cf. SEN., *Med.* 964, *frater est, poenas petit*); their fugitive status (Ov., *Fas.* 3.565, *nacta ratem comitesque fugae pede labitur aequo*; cf. SEN., *Med.* 273-274, *redde fugienti ratem / uel redde*; 542-543, *liberos tantum fugae / habere comites liceat*); and Anna's visit to Battus (Ov., *Fas.* 3.565-570) – whose kingship Medea foretells at PIND., *Pyth.* 4.5-11.



“Whoever touched notorious oars of the daring ship and robbed Pelion of the dense shade of its sacred grove; whoever invaded the wandering rocks ... with a harsh death he atoned for defiled laws of the sea. The sea, having been challenged, exacted its punishment.”

Both passages share similar construction and force: whoever committed this crime against the gods (sailing the *Argo* and killing Caesar, respectively) paid a worthy and divinely-sanctioned penalty. Seneca’s use of the passage<sup>117</sup> draws a clear parallel between the assassination of Caesar and the sailing of the *Argo*: both moments of transformation, with divine punishment for those who committed the act. The allusion also calls attention to the audience’s location at the place of Caesar’s death; Ovid’s *praeteriturus* could signify his physically passing by the spot as well as his narratively passing over the episode. Given Ovid’s ambivalent relationship to Roman imperialism, Seneca’s passage also implies that Argonauts’ punishment may *not* in fact have been merited and did not expiate the crime, but that the “piety” generated by the crime, like Augustus’ piety towards his father, is actually death and devastation.<sup>118</sup> Finally, this allusion helps to inscribe onto Ovid’s passage – and onto the location of Pompey’s theatre – a narrative of social decay.

As Seneca’s *Medea* connects the story of Medea – exclusion from the community, abandonment by her husband, and revenge that destroys a city – to the ending of the Golden Age, so an entangled reading of this play in the Theatre of Pompey connects the Roman elite’s turning against Caesar and his assassination-as-apotheosis to the end of Rome’s Golden Age.<sup>119</sup> Just as the Corinthians who cast out and condemn Medea fail to see the disastrous consequences of their actions,<sup>120</sup> so the murder of Caesar, coming as the culmination of his rivalry with Pompey, their war, and the changes wrought upon Rome by his dictatorship, brings about an age his assassins failed to predict. Staging *Medea* in the Theatre of Pompey, in the heart of the Campus Martius – the monumental center of both the Civil War and early imperial period – facilitates a particular narrative about Caesar’s death: that his murder and deification, like the crime of the Argonauts that generated Medea’s own expulsion from the mortal world, becomes a linchpin which brings on the destruction of society.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>117</sup> *Medea* stresses themes of daring (*audax, audeo*), crime (*nefas*), and vengeance (*ultor, ulciscor*), also terms of allusive function.

<sup>118</sup> NEWLANDS (1996), especially p. 333-336. Cf. PFAFF-REYDELLET (2002).

<sup>119</sup> See KOORTBOJIAN (2013), p. 115-117 on how public opinion turned pro-Caesar only when Octavian took power. See also p. 125 on Octavian’s reliance on Caesar for his authority: “Octavian’s rise to power during the 30s was marked by his claim to be *divi filius*.” WARDLE (2009) analyzes the process of Caesar’s deification.

<sup>120</sup> HENDERSON (1983) shows how the second Argonautic ode is a veritable poetic fugue that works beyond the comprehension of the chorus (poetically and rhetorically) to figure the inevitability of Medea’s revenge.

<sup>121</sup> Additional investigation could connect Medea’s focus on memory (WALSH [2011], p. 174-187; cf. HINDS [2011], p. 27-28) to FLOWER (2006), p. 110 describing the

## 7. Conclusion

In arguing that Seneca's *Medea* can be read, when entangled with the semantics of a particular place, as an allegory for the assassination of Julius Caesar and the ensuing damage caused to the Roman state, I hope first to have convinced readers that this interpretation of Seneca's play is viable, and secondly to have shown how drastically the semantics of a work can shift when allowed to be entangled with a place. While this type of analysis has yet to be tried on Seneca's tragedies (and rarely on other Roman dramatic works<sup>122</sup>), it shows that an understanding of Seneca's tragic texts does in fact change when we make the choice to "place" them (or not). In specific, history-laden, and holy theatrical places, we find that the text engenders a far greater lability than scholars have yet considered.<sup>123</sup>

One final aspect of this particular study must be mentioned, and that is to allow, in "intra-action" of text and place, for the *mutual* construction of their meaning. That is, both the text *and* the place become identified only in their moment of interaction.<sup>124</sup> Seneca's *Medea*, then, in the context of Pompey's theatre, also actively constructs the meaning of the place. Taking this co-construction into account raises the possibility that Seneca is not merely highlighting how the place is already interpreted, but also reinforcing or even *constructing* a particular semantics of the Theatre of Pompey as a location of transformation and a monument of the end of Rome's Golden Age. The performance of *Medea* changes theatre itself and presents a signification that can affect future experiences of and within that place.<sup>125</sup>

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aftermath of Caesar's assassination as "a different and new memory space" of "competing and partisan 'histories'" working "to obscure and to devalue the traditional memory world of the *nobiles*." See FLOWER (2006), p. 103-111 for fuller argument.

<sup>122</sup> E.g., GOLDBERG (1998); UNRUH (2015); KUGELMEIER (2014).

<sup>123</sup> In a forthcoming work, I explore effects of "placeless-ness" on Senecan scholarship.

<sup>124</sup> ESCOBAR (2001), p. 157, similarly: "place as project."

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## Notes et discussions

### Spelling out Cadmus: An intrusive gloss at Seneca *Phoenissae* 125

In his second speech of self-lacerating despair in Seneca's *Phoenissae*, Oedipus urges Antigone to set him up as a new monster to replace the Sphinx and apostrophizes the inhabitants of Boeotia and neighbouring territories to turn their attention to him (Sen., *Phoe.* 124-126):

*quisquis Assyrio loca  
possessa regi scindis et Cadmi nemus  
serpente notum, sacra quo Dirce latet*

The immediate following of the learned periphrasis “the Assyrian [i.e. Tyrian] king” (*Assyrio ... regi*) with the straightforward naming of its referent “Cadmus” (*Cadmi*) in association with a different locale is, to say the very least, jarring. It is also potentially confusing, since it might lead the audience / reader to think that *Assyrio ... regi* must in fact refer to someone other than Cadmus. Even leaving aside potentially subjective aesthetic judgments, such a juxtaposition is a unique anomaly in Senecan tragic style. The undesirability of the word *Cadmi* in this context is matched by the availability of a ready explanation for its presence, as a marginal gloss for *Assyrio ... regi* which a copyist has incorporated into the text. Curiously, commentators have felt no qualms about the passage and no suggestion of corruption or proposal for emendation has been made.<sup>1</sup> This article will establish the anomalousness of the transmitted text and the plausibility that *Cadmi* is an intrusive gloss, before offering a conjecture for what it might have displaced.

There is no other instance in the Senecan corpus where a periphrasis for an individual, specifically one in which a common noun is qualified by an ethnic, geographic, or patronymic epithet, is immediately followed by the use of their actual name. In anticipation of the discussion of three potential exceptions below, it should be specified that it is the use of periphrasis and name in relation to two different, short items in a series that is particularly

<sup>1</sup> Both HIRSCHBERG (1989) and FRANK (1995) are silent *ad loc.* No conjectures are listed in BILLERBECK / SOMAZZI (2009) nor in the *apparatus critici* of the standard editions. SCALIGER (*apud* SCRIVERIUS [1621], p. 148) believed that the whole passage from *et Cadmi* (125b) to *et Parnason* (129a) was an interpolation, the ‘offspring of a minor schoolteacher’ (“poedagoguli foetum”). His grounds, which show little feeling for Senecan poetics, are those of chronology (the Dioscuri lived after the time of the Seven – wrong as well as wrong-headed, since they were Argonauts and hence also of the generation before the Trojan War, where their shipmates’ sons, Achilles and Ajax, fought beside the Epigoni, Diomedes and Sthenelus) and topography (Oedipus should only be talking about Boeotia, so Sparta and Elis are out of place). His objection to Cadmus is not to the name but to the ‘nonsensical’ mention of the serpent at all, which he bizarrely assumes must be that into which Cadmus metamorphosed, so that the grove would be in Illyria rather than Boeotia (“Nam de nemore serpente Cadmi noto, nugae. Quid est nemus notum serpente Cadmi? An quia Cadmus in serpentem conversus? Hoc contigit in Illyrico, non in Thebano agro.”)

anomalous. This is not to say that Seneca's avoidance of such juxtaposition is limited to such cases. Rather it is in such cases that the juxtaposition goes markedly against, not only his practice, but also what can reasonably be construed as the poetic effect aimed at. It should be made absolutely clear at the outset that such a juxtaposition is totally distinct from the attachment of an ethnic or other epithet directly to a proper noun. This is very much a feature of Senecan, as of other Latin poets', style, whether to provide amplitude and colour, display *doctrina*, to make a thematic point, or a combination of all of these. Examples include Hercules' obscurely learned description of the usually Phrygian Pelops as 'Dardanian' (*Pelopsis ... Dardanii*, HF 1165) and Agamemnon's pointed invocation of *Argolica Iuno* (Ag. 806), in her aspect as Argive Hera, patron of Argos and enemy of Troy.<sup>2</sup>

Seneca's all-but-invariable practice with periphrases for proper names is, unsurprisingly, to allow them to stand on their own and not to gloss them with the name itself.<sup>3</sup> To do so would render the periphrasis redundant and nullify any appeal to the *doctrina* of the audience / reader. Many examples could be offered but a representative selection of the most relevant sub-category, those based on ethnic, geographical, or patronymic epithets, from across the corpus might include *puellae ... Cnosiacae* (HF 18), *Gnosium regem* (Oed. 892), *Colchide nouerca* (Phae. 697), *Thessalici ducis* (Tro. 181), *coniugis ... Pheraei* (Med. 662), *Phrygiae uatis* (Ag. 189), *Daulis ... parens / sororque* (Thy. 275-276).<sup>4</sup> In none of these passages, nor in numerous others, does Seneca spell out that Ariadne, Minos, Medea, Achilles, Admetus, Cassandra, Procne or Philomela is being referred to.

It is true that Seneca does often intermingle proper names with periphrases in pairs, lists, or other sequences of short, discrete items, like Oedipus' list of Boeotian and Peloponnesian regions. However, the proper names and periphrases always refer to different people or places, so that the artful *uariatio* of expression is mimetic of the varied subject matter. Thus, Medea ponders whether Jason is afraid of Creon, named, and war against Acastus, expressed by the periphrasis 'the Thessalian leader' (*timuit Creontem ac bella Thessalici ducis?*, Med. 415). Theseus, wracked with guilt at having caused his son's death, prays to take the place of the various sinners he so recently saw in the Underworld (Phae. 1231-1235): Sisyphus by periphrasis (*seni ... Aeolio*, 1231), Tantalus evoked only by his punishment (1232), Tityos by name (1233), and another periphrasis, this time for Ixion, pointedly marking his personal connection as 'the father of my dear Pirithous' (*mei ... Pirithoi pater*, 1235). Seneca sometimes uses the 'Priam and the people of Priam' structure, but it need hardly be said that *Bacchus aut Bacchi parens* (HF 16) is not the same as 'Semele or Bacchus' mother', nor *Ithacus aut Ithaci comes* (Tro. 38) as 'Diomedes or the companion of the Ithacan' and thus not analogous to 'the Assyrian king and Cadmus'.<sup>5</sup>

On the very rare occasions when Seneca does use the proper name of a figure to whom he has comparatively recently referred with a periphrasis, the differences from the situation in *Phoe.* 124-126 are multiple and significant. The name does not follow immediately after the periphrasis but is resumptive or climactic. It is usually needed to clarify

<sup>2</sup> "eine ungewöhnliche Variation von *Phrygius*, als welcher Pelops – seinem Ursprung gemäss – sonst bezeichnet wird" (BILLERBECK [1999] *ad loc.*). *Argolica Iuno* gains further resonance from its recollection of *Iunoni Argiuae* at VERG., A. 3.547, where the Trojans are sacrificing to appease the hostile goddess.

<sup>3</sup> On Seneca's use of periphrases, see CANTER (1925), p. 134-136, SEIDENSTICKER (1969), p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> As it happens, *Assyrio ... regi* is the only such periphrasis for a person in *Phoen.* but *Siculo ... / ... monte* stands for Etna at 314-315.

<sup>5</sup> On the 'Priam figure', see WILLS (1996), p. 33-41, 254-261.

the sense, identifying the new subject of a sentence. The context is not a series of brief, separate items but a sustained passage focusing on the same mythological character. There is always a rhetorical or thematic point made by the use of the proper name. It is worth emphasizing that, even in such extended passages, Seneca's usual practice is still to leave periphrases unglossed. Indeed, in the first section of the *Oedipus*' third choral ode, whose final section is discussed below, Cadmus is referred to by two different periphrases (*Sidonio ... hospiti*, 713; *magni natus Agenoris*, 715) but never by his name. Nevertheless, there are a few passages where periphrasis and name coexist.

In *Hercules Furens*, when Amphytrion and Lycus are sparring in stichomythia about whether Hercules' experiences could be considered characteristic of a son of Jupiter, the debate is played out in a synkrisis with Apollo (*HF* 450-454):

LY: *Famuline fuerant ante quam fierent dei?*

AM: *Pastor Pheraeos Delius pauit greges.*

LY: *Sed non per omnes exul errauit plagas.*

AM: *Quem profuga terra mater errante edidit?*

LY: *Num monstra saeua Phoebus aut timuit feras?*

The Alexandrian periphrasis *pastor ... Delius* allusively introduces Apollo as a comparand, as well as rhetorically making his herding so integral to his identity that it can stand as a circumlocution for him.<sup>6</sup> When Lycus uses the name *Phoebus* (itself arguably a light periphrasis for Apollo) three lines later, it is necessary to establish him as the subject of his question, after Latona (*profuga ... mater*) was the grammatical subject (albeit not the focus) of the previous line. More importantly, Lycus' rhetorical strategy requires not the allusive nuance of periphrasis but the establishment of a sharp and strong contrast between the explicitly named Olympian and the clearly implied upstart mortal: "Phoebus did not face fierce monsters and beasts, did he (sc. as everyone knows Hercules did)?"

In the third choral ode of the *Oedipus*, the extended description of Actaeon's death introduces him with the periphrasis *Cadmei ... nepotis* (751). This pointedly links him with his grandfather Cadmus, whose sufferings have just been narrated, as part of the chain of disasters suffered by the Theban royal house, a connection that Seneca allusively appropriates from Ovid.<sup>7</sup> When the name *Actaeon* is explicitly used five lines later (756), again it is practically necessary for the sense, marking him as the subject of *fugit* (755) and all the verbs down to *uidit* (760), where he was previously the genitive possessor of fate and forehead (*nepotis*, 751) and object (*dominum*) of *egere* (754). Again, the blunt use of the name is rhetorically and thematically pointed, as he is called 'Actaeon' even though, as a stag, his identity and his right to that name are in question.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See BILLERBECK (1999) *ad loc.* on "umschreibenden Bezeichnung von Personen (*Pheraeos, Delius*) als Beispiel von Senecas verschlüsselter, alexandrinischem 'Gesprächsstil'".

<sup>7</sup> "Like Actaeon, Oedipus himself is a descendant of Cadmus who unintentionally performs a forbidden act and is turned into a hybrid monster" (BOYLE [2011], p. 286 *ad* 751-763); "Im Fall des Actaeon verdankt Seneca Ovid nicht nur Einzelzüge der Darstellung, sondern dessen Eignung als Exempel für die *ira deum* überhaupt" (TÖCHTERLE [1994], p. 517 *ad loc.*).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ovid's ironic deployment of the name at *Met.* 3.230 and 3.244-245. It is tempting to detect a bilingual wordplay on *Actaeon* as one who is 'driven' (*actus*) in *egere* (754) and *agilis* (756). On such wordplays, see STEVENS (2002) and FITCH (2016), though the latter asserts that Seneca generally avoids bilingual wordplay (p. 314 n. 2).

The final example is once more from *Hercules Furens*, where Megara threatens to murder Lycus if forced to marry him and invokes the Danaids for inspiration and assistance (HF 498-500):

*nunc nunc, cruentae regis Aegypti nurus,  
adeste multo sanguine infectae manus.  
dest una numero Danaïs: explebo nefas.*

As elsewhere, the initial reference is a periphrasis and, as ever, it is both learned and pointed. By referring to them not as daughters of Danaus but as daughters-in-law of Aegyptus, Megara identifies them with their defining act, the murder of their enforced husbands. The ostensibly more straightforward *Danaïs*, itself on one level a periphrasis for Hypermestra, does not banally spell out the referent of the periphrasis. Rather, in a climactic sententia, it transforms the specific mythological Danaids into universal types of the mariticide, so that 'a Danaid' – the singular form occurs only here and at *HO* 948 which closely imitates it – becomes something which Megara, though no relation to Danaus, can be. The context and function of these pairings of periphrases and names satisfactorily account for Seneca's apparent departure from his usual practice and cannot be used as parallels for the pairing of *Assyrio* ... *regi* and *Cadmi* at *Phoe.* 124-125.

It is also worth noting that the construction of a noun qualified by *notum* with an ablative of cause and a further genitive is both ambiguous and unSenecan. In the transmitted text, it is by no means clear whether it is the grove, the serpent, or both that are 'of Cadmus'. The parallel with *Oed.* 176-177, *bis Cadmeum niue discussa / tremuisse nemus* would point towards the first of these alternatives and does suggest that Seneca considered the grove to have a lasting association with Cadmus.<sup>9</sup> Yet the careful use of the adjective, *Cadmeum*, in *Oedipus* also throws into relief the awkward ambiguity of the genitive, *Cadmi*, in *Phoenissae*. It seems probable that the avoidance of such ambiguity was one of the reasons why Seneca nowhere else uses such a genitive in comparable contexts. His standard practice when describing a place, person or thing as *notus* (or its equivalents *nobilis* and *clarus*) on account of an ablative of source or cause, is to qualify that ablative noun with an adjective. Examples include *fera notam Calydonia saeva* (*Tro.* 845), *Alpheos, stadio notus Olympico* (*Thy.* 131), and *Cadmeis inclita Bacchis / ... dumeta* (HF 134-135). Indeed, just twenty lines earlier in *Phoenissae* itself, he writes *notum nece / ense paterna* (106) and a few lines after our passage *Spartenque fratre nobilem gemino* (128).

It should be noted that a genitive *is* found in similar contexts in other authors, so that the possibility that *Cadmi*, unsatisfactory on other grounds, has displaced another genitive noun cannot be categorically ruled out.<sup>10</sup> However, examples of this usage tend to manifest significant differences from *Phoe.* 124-125, which make the genitive palatable and positively appropriate in ways that do not apply to our passage. In *Ov., Met.* 7.353, *euentu ueteris loca nota Cerambi*, "the places renowned on account of what happened to Cerambus of old (lit. the event of ancient Cerambus)", the non-specificity of *loca* and its need to be further defined by the adjectival phrase strongly encourage the reader to take *ueteris* ... *Cerambi* with *euentu*. "The places of Cerambus" would not commend itself to Medea as a likely construal in the same way as "the grove of Cadmus". By contrast, at *Stat., Silu.* 2.2.1, *inter notos Sirenum nomine muros* ("among the walls renowned on account of the name of the Sirens"), it would be perfectly reasonable to

<sup>9</sup> Cited by HIRSCHBERG (1989) *ad loc.*

<sup>10</sup> I am indebted to one of *Latomus'* anonymous readers for this point and for the examples that follow, though I still respectfully disagree about their implications.

construe “the walls of the Sirens”, but it is the ablative noun, *nomine*, that (like *euentu*, incidentally) cannot stand alone and demands that the genitive qualify it. Neither “the places of ancient Cerambus renowned on account of the event” nor “the walls of the Sirens renowned on account of the name” is a plausible interpretation in the same way as “the grove of Cadmus renowned on account of the serpent” and hence does not share the ambiguity of *Phoe*. 124-5. It is not inconceivable that such ambiguity could be poetically effective.<sup>11</sup> However, it does not seem to have been the practice of other Latin poets any more than of Seneca.

On the two occasions when Seneca does employ an unqualified ablative noun with ‘renowned’, the effect is very specific.<sup>12</sup> *scelere Lemnon nobilem* (Ag. 566) evokes a mutual bestowal of renown where Lemnos is renowned for its crime and the crime takes its emblematic name from the island where it was committed. The same applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to *Seres uellere nobiles* (Thy. 379). In both phrases, the reader virtually supplies an ablative adjective derived from the nominative / accusative noun: ‘Lemnos renowned on account of the [Lemnian] crime’ and ‘the Seres renowned on account of the [Seric] fabric’. There is no such point or even coherent sense to be extracted from ‘the grove of Cadmus renowned on account of the [grove’s] serpent’. Sense, style, and Senecan practice all point to an adjective rather than a genitive’s occupying the place held by *Cadmi*, which both encourages emendation and suggests what it might be emended to.

The intrusion of a marginal gloss, especially a proper name, into the text is of course a well-established source of textual corruption, in Senecan tragedy as elsewhere, and may even be more widespread than is suspected.<sup>13</sup> Quite apart from places where such a corruption has been merely suspected, there are several instances where the E tradition transmits a gloss that gives less satisfactory sense than the reading of the A manuscripts. Thus at *HF* 459-460, *qui gubernat astra, qui nubes quatit, / non latuit infans rupis exesae specu?*, E’s variant *Idea* for A’s *exesae* is clearly the intrusion of a gloss identifying baby Jupiter’s cave as being on Cretan Ida.<sup>14</sup> A more violent example, where the gloss displaces not an equivalent form, but a totally different part of speech occurs at *Oed*. 246 where the main verb of the text of A, *prohibent nefandi carminis tristes minae*, is ousted in E by *Sp<h>inx et*, an obvious explanation of who spoke the unspeakable riddle.<sup>15</sup> In addition to these examples clearly present in the manuscripts themselves, places where an intrusive gloss has been conjectured are numerous.<sup>16</sup>

A phrase need not be obscure to prompt a gloss in a manuscript, but *Assyrio ... regi* is particularly recherché and hence particularly likely to have attracted a marginal explanation. The only other application of *Assyrius* in the loose sense of ‘Tyrian’ to a person

<sup>11</sup> Again, I thank *Latomus*’ anonymous reader for this observation.

<sup>12</sup> Pace KEULEN (2001) *ad Tro.* 845, *fama* in *nota fama Tenedos* (*Tro.* 224) cannot be an “ablative expressing the source of fame”, since “Tenedos renowned on account of its fame” would be intolerably tautologous. As with *Tenedos, notissima fama / insula* (VERG., A. 2.21-22) to which it alludes, it must be a vague locative, ‘in fame’.

<sup>13</sup> “This phenomenon seems to me more frequent in [Senecan tragedy] than has previously been recognised” (FITCH [2004a], p. 4 n. 12).

<sup>14</sup> AXELSON (1967), p. 12-13; BILLERBECK (1989), p. 358 *ad loc.*

<sup>15</sup> “Der Eigenname in E dürfte eine verdeutlichende Glosse sein, wie sie sich auch sonst feststellen lassen” (TÖCHTERLE [1994], p. 278 *ad loc.*). Following the adjudication of ZWIERLEIN (1983) p. 14, *prohibent* is printed, not only by ZWIERLEIN himself, but also TÖCHTERLE, FITCH and BOYLE, against the previous consensus in favour of *Sphinx et*.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. *Paridi* at *Tro.* 922, with ZWIERLEIN (1986) p. 104-106; *Thyestes* at *Thy.* 58, with FITCH (2004b) p. 252-253.

is the reference to Europa as *puellae Assyriae* at *HO* 553.<sup>17</sup> Though it is impossible to be precise about what region is implied by its application to various aromatic plants and perfumes, most instances seem to be more broadly or distantly Eastern, except those referring to Tyre's most famous export, purple dye, as at Verg., *G.* 2.465, its imitation at Sil. 11.40-41, and *Culex* 62. Whether the gloss was in the nominative, or the dative to match *regi*, once included in the text it would quickly be 'corrected' into the genitive as the only case which would make sense.

If *Cadmi* is an intrusive gloss, then it remains to make a conjecture as to what it might have displaced. Of course, the possibilities are many, but there are two considerations, alongside the general one of sense, which help to narrow the field. First, because a gloss, like a word duplicated from a nearby line, intrudes into the text fully-formed, it need not bear any palaeographic resemblance to the word it displaces and hence may not offer any indication as to what that word was. Nevertheless, a copyist's replacement of a word with a gloss, especially if it were an accidental mistranscription rather than a deliberate alteration, would unquestionably be facilitated if it did have a degree of visual similarity to the original text.<sup>18</sup> Secondly, it was shown earlier that Senecan practice would lead us to expect an adjective modifying *serpente*.

What sort of adjective would it most probably be? The examples given earlier of *notus* and synonyms qualified by a causal ablative noun-phrase vary in the nature of that noun-phrase. In some cases, the source of fame is a thing or person, as with *Alpheos, stadio notus Olympico* (*Thy.* 131), *Spartenque fratre nobilem gemino* (*Phoe.* 128), *fera notam Calydonae saeva* (*Tro.* 845), and *Cadmeis incluta Bacchis / dumeta* (*HF* 134-135). Two of these sources are either a permanent physical feature of the site itself ('the Olympic racetrack') or people who have a generalized association with it through birth ('the twin brothers'). On the other hand, the 'thickets renowned on account of the Cadmean Bacchants' and 'Calydon renowned on account of the fierce beast' allude to single events (the sparagmos of Pentheus and the Calydonian boar hunt) by referring somewhat elliptically to the figures associated with that event (Agaue, Autonoe, and Ino, and the boar). This would stand as a parallel for modifying *serpente* with a purely descriptive adjective such as (to offer, *exempli gratia*, two rather colourless but paralleled possibilities) *magno* or *saevo*.<sup>19</sup> The grove would then be 'renowned on account of (sc. the killing of) the great / fierce serpent' in a comparable way to the thickets' being 'renowned on account of (sc. the killing by) the Cadmean Bacchants' and Calydon's 'on account of (sc. the hunting of) the fierce beast'.

On other occasions it is not only an event or action rather than a person or thing which makes a thing or place renowned, but the noun-phrase makes its status as an event more explicit than with the 'fierce beast' or 'Cadmean Bacchants'. Sometimes the noun itself expresses the verbal sense as (albeit in reference to an object rather than a place) at *Phoe.* 106-107: *notum nece / ense paterna* ('the sword renowned on account of the killing of

<sup>17</sup> The only other instance of the iunctura *Assyrius rex* (also in the dative), at Sil. 13.886, refers to Prusias I of Bithynia, host of the exiled Hannibal. Considering Silius' practice of using Phoenician epithets, including *Cadmeus*, to refer to Carthaginians, this is an unexpected and subtle move.

<sup>18</sup> For the principle: "we may have little guidance as to the original reading ... [b]ut a gloss may displace a similar-looking word, as at [*HO*] 1226 *costas* (glossing 1225 *latus*) displaces *totas* in E" (FITCH [2004a], p. 197, discussing a conjecture at *HO* 373).

<sup>19</sup> *Latomus*' editor Marc Dominicy makes the far more attractive suggestion of *tumido*, which is commonly used of serpents in Seneca (*HF* 221, *Med.* 689) and elsewhere (*Ov.*, *Met.* 1.460, *Tr.* 5.2.14; *LUC.* 9.701; *PETR.* 89.36; *STAT.*, *Theb.* 5.508; *SIL.* 1.285, 6.233).



my father"). Elsewhere, the verbal idea is concealed within an adjective or participle, using the so-called *ab urbe condita* construction.<sup>20</sup> Thus Pyrrhus describes (incidentally, using a periphrasis) Pedasus as "the land renowned on account of the capture of Briseis" (*captaque tellus nobilis Briseide, Tro.* 222). The use of the *ab urbe condita* construction in the ablative of source of renown is also paralleled in Horace (*Ajax ... totiens servatis clarus Achiuis, Sat.* 2.3.193-4) and Lucan (*noti ... erepto uellere Colchi, 2.591*).

It would be tempting, then, to imagine *serpente* as qualified by an adjective or participle that expressed the action that was performed on it and from which the grove derives its renown, that is, its killing. This would also fit with Oedipus' wider tendency in *Phoenissae* to "redraw ... a map of Thebes that emphasizes the city's sinful past", constructing a landscape full of "individualized *loci horribiles* marking memorable sites of ancestral savagery".<sup>21</sup> *caeso* is metrically identical to *Cadmi*. Since they share the same first two letters, the common mechanism, whereby a copyist's eye slips to a nearby word in the text with the same opening, could here serve to make his eye slip to the marginal gloss. Seneca uses *caeso* in an *ab urbe condita* construction at *Oed.* 389, *contaminarit rege quis caeso manus* (cf. *est maius aliquod patre mactato nefas?*, *ibid.* 18) and his beloved Ovid even offers an example in an ablative of source of renown (*caeso genitore infamis Agyrtes, Met.* 5.148). The participle is also used with AVC force in connection with a snake at Stat., *Theb.* 6.86-87, as the Argives try to expiate Capaneus' "crime of killing the snake" (*crimina caesi / anguis*). Most tellingly, the author of the *Hercules Oetaeus*, who often borrows Senecan phraseology, uses exactly the *iunctura serpente caeso* (*HO* 93) to express how Apollo earned the Delphic temple and a home in the heavens "by killing the serpent".

It has already been noted that *caeso* is metrically identical to *Cadmi* and this is true not only of its spondaic shape but of its ending with an open long vowel. This would further facilitate a copyist's displacement of one with the other, but also serves to establish that the conjecture conforms as much as the *paradosis* to Senecan metrical practice. However, it is worth confirming that both are indeed in keeping with Seneca's usual handling of the trimeter.<sup>22</sup> Taking the first hundred lines of *Phoenissae* as a representative and relevant sample, there are thirty-one (hence, of course, 31%) in which the first half of the third metron (or fifth foot) is occupied by a spondaic word, or one made spondaic by position.<sup>23</sup> Of these, ten, like *Cadmi* and *caeso*, end in an open long vowel followed by a word beginning with a consonant.<sup>24</sup> To these we might add *Dirce* in the immediately following line (126) and also note that Seneca places *caeso* in the same *sedes* at *Oed.* 389, quoted above as a parallel for his use of the AVC construction. *caeso* is therefore entirely in keeping with Senecan metrical practice.

To sum up, on grounds of sense, style, and practice, the juxtaposition of *Assyrio ... regi* with *Cadmi* at *Phoen.* 124-125 is unSenecan and intolerable. The corruption *Cadmi* can easily be accounted for as an intrusive gloss of *Assyrio ... regi*. Senecan practice with ablatives of source of renown suggests that it has displaced either an adjective or a participle. While numerous alternatives are possible, *caeso nemus / serpente notum*, "the

<sup>20</sup> On this construction, see L-H-S § 210, HEICK (1936).

<sup>21</sup> GINSBERG (2015), p. 217; MADER (2010), p. 292.

<sup>22</sup> I am grateful to *Latomus'* other anonymous reader for insisting that I do so.

<sup>23</sup> I include line 100, deleted by LEO, ZWIERLEIN, and HIRSCHBERG, but printed by FRANK, FITCH, and most other editors.

<sup>24</sup> Lines 9, 11, 18, 28, 29, 40, 46, 57, 59, 83. The others are 17, 26, 27, 30, 45, 47, 48, 51, 53, 56, 60, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 76, 84, 85, 91, 98.



grove renowned on account of the killing of the serpent”, gives excellent sense, is metrically sound, has parallels in Seneca, his models and his imitators, and would further account for the intrusion of the gloss because they share the same first two letters.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> This note arose from teaching Seneca's *Phoenissae* to an Honours class at the University of Sydney in April 2019. I am very grateful to William Batt, Janek Drevikovsky, Phillip Dupesovski, Clare Pryor, Mark Rothery, and Codey Swadling for contributing to such a stimulating class, to Paul Roche for commenting on a draft, and finally to *Latomus'* two anonymous readers and editor Marc Dominicy for their extremely helpful comments and suggestions.

## Comptes rendus

Niels BECKER, *Bern von der Reichenau. De nigromantia seu divinatione daemonum contemnenda, sowie drei Predigten* (de pascha, in epiphania Domini, in caena Domini). Edition, Übersetzung, Kommentar, Heidelberg, Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2017 (Editiones Heidelbergenses, 36), 21 × 13,5 cm, 419 p., fig., 60 €, ISBN 978-3-8253-6838-8.

Composé par Bern de la Reichenau (1008-1048), le *De nigromantia* édité et traduit ici fut découvert en 1934, tomba dans l'oubli avant d'être exhumé par Niels Becker qui commence par retracer la vie et l'œuvre de Bern, dresse un état des recherches depuis 2008 et examine la tradition manuscrite (la transmission du texte et la récupération de parties du traité dans les *Vndecima centuria Ecclesiasticae historiae* [Bâle, 1567]). Becker date l'œuvre des années 1027-1043/4 à l'aide de données historiques, la situe entre nécromancie et nigromancie, la divination par conjuration de démons, puis résume le traité qui comporte trois parties : 1. Constitution des démons et leur vénération par les hommes ; 2. Rôle salvateur de la pénitence ; 3. L'astrologie. Suivent l'édition et la traduction du *De nigromantia* et de trois sermons reprenant des arguments développés dans celui-ci : le premier aborde les sacrifices faits hors de l'Église ; le second, la divination ; le troisième, la pénitence et la rémission des péchés par le baptême, le martyre, l'aumône, le pardon des offenses, la charité, la communion et l'amendement du comportement. Ce traité, qui s'inspire du *De ciuitate Dei* de saint Augustin dans une large mesure, commente et explicite la pensée de ce maître en y ajoutant des exemples comme, par exemple, celui du jeune homme qui se voua au diable (p. 144-156) et fait penser au *Miracle de Théophile* ainsi qu'à l'histoire du docteur Faust ; Becker en trouve la source dans la *Vita Blasii* du pseudo-Antiochius d'Iconum. L'auteur prend pour manuscrit directeur le Harleianus 3668 et les *Vndecima centuria* lui fournissent des variantes qu'il insère dans son appareil critique. Les sources bibliques et autres (Rufin, Clément d'Alexandrie, saint Augustin, etc.) apparaissent à droite de l'édition du texte. Le traité de Bern permet de dresser une signalétique des démons : ils se présentent parfois comme des anges de lumière, résident dans l'air dont leur corps est fait, provoquent les maladies, bougent, déplacent et transforment les objets, percent les pensées à jour et les intentions informulées, sont impuissants à prédire ou à savoir quoi que ce soit par magie, à moins que la providence divine ne le permette. Simon Mage et Zoroastre servent d'exemple dans le traité de Bern qui taxe par ailleurs les pythonnisses de ventriloques ! Le commentaire (p. 196-348), une véritable somme d'érudition, explicite le dire du *De nigromantia*, les locutions utilisées, recense les sources des différents passages du traité et présente les parallèles avec d'autres textes. En appendice, Becker donne la table du manuscrit de Saint-Gall 898, celle des extraits du *De nigromantia* dans les *Vndecima centuria* et les passages tirés de ce même texte. La bibliographie liste les œuvres de Bern, celles des auteurs auxquels Becker se réfère dans son commentaire et ses autres sources textuelles. Des index permettent une orientation rapide, mais celui des personnes, lieux et matières doit être complété. On ajoutera « Jésus als Steuermann » (cf. p. 215), « Stercora » (cf. p. 251), « phantasticum » (cf. p. 269, 301), « Balaam » (cf. p. 304), « Phitonici » (cf. p. 312), « mediatio » (cf. p. 315) et « benedictionalis » (cf. p. 331). Ces quelques remarques n'enlèvent rien à la grande richesse informationnelle de ce livre et les chercheurs remercieront Niels Becker d'avoir mis ce texte à leur disposition dans une édition aussi minutieuse.

Claude LECOUTEUX.

Marion BELLISSIME / Frédéric HURLET, *Dion Cassius. Histoire romaine. Livre 53*. Texte établi par M. B., traduit et commenté par M. B. et F. H., Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2018 (CUF), 19 × 12,5 cm, LXXXIX-112 p. en partie doubles, fig., 39 €, ISBN 978-2-251-00621-5.

La Collection des Universités de France est désormais enrichie d'un nouveau tome de l'*Histoire romaine* de Dion Cassius et non des moins intéressants. En effet, ce livre 53 appartient aux livres augustéens (51-56) et couvre la période qui va de 28 à 23 avant J.-C. Il est consacré essentiellement à l'analyse de la mise en place du nouveau régime, analyse qui prend diverses formes puisqu'au-delà du récit purement narratif des réformes fondamentales de 27, Dion Cassius met en scène Auguste en reconstituant son discours au Sénat et intervient en portant des jugements personnels, notamment sur l'hypocrisie d'Auguste. Ce livre est une source essentielle pour notre connaissance des fondements du principat, que Dion appelle « monarchie » (cf. p. XXVII-XXVIII), c'est-à-dire un terme technique propre à définir le nouveau régime. En effet, le livre 53 est au cœur de l'analyse très fine de l'historien concernant la fin de la république et le passage progressif au régime impérial, tant sur le plan des institutions que sur celui des pouvoirs réels du prince, notamment par exemple le « mythe » de la *respublica restituta* (cf. p. XXII-XXIV), expression dans laquelle on peut se demander si *restituere* signifie « rendre » ou « rétablir », ou encore le renoncement au consulat au profit de la puissance tribunitienne à vie (53, 32, 3 et p. LIV). Dion Cassius se plaît aussi à souligner le rôle joué par Agrippa aux côtés d'Auguste (cf. p. XXXII-XXXIV) et le modèle parfait de conseiller du Prince qu'il représente. Frédéric Hurlet, spécialiste de toutes ces questions, apporte un commentaire historique fourni et très documenté, non seulement dans l'introduction, mais aussi dans les notes, comme en témoignent par exemple les notes 4, 55, 88, 114, 118 ou encore 142. Quant à l'établissement du texte, il est minutieusement justifié p. LXXVIII-LXXXVI par Marion Bellissime et s'appuie sur la tradition manuscrite de quatre textes (copiés entre le IX<sup>e</sup> et le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle) et sur la tradition indirecte, celle des résumés de Xiphilin et Zonaras ainsi que des *testimonia*, notamment cinq extraits du *De uirtutibus et uitiiis* du X<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les remarques linguistiques sont particulièrement pertinentes puisque Dion traduit en grec des notions typiquement romaines et s'efforce par-là de les expliquer à un public hellénophone. On se reportera par exemple aux notes 2 (sur *archè*), 52, 115 (sur le nom d'Auguste) ou encore 136. Une abondante bibliographie complète l'introduction (p. LVII-LXXXVI). Trois *indices* et une carte terminent le volume. La traduction est élégante et d'une lecture agréable, ce qui permet au lecteur intéressé par l'instauration du Principat et à l'ébauche d'une « constitution augustéenne » d'accéder à cette source majeure.

Marie-Laure FREYBURGER-GALLAND.

Barbara Weiden BOYD, *Ovid's Homer: Authority, Repetition, and Reception*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2017, 24,5 × 16 cm, xviii-301 p., 55 £, ISBN 978-0-19-068004-6.

This valuable new book explores Ovid's career-long engagement with Homer's poetry in a series of learned and sensitive close readings from the whole range of Ovid's poetic output. Boyd's broader framework for Ovid's reception of Homer is her argument that Ovid asserts his poetic authority by using the thematic and the metatextual potential of the trope of paternity "to define his place in an unbroken tradition of poetic narrative by assuming the role of Homer's son and heir" (p. 7). She suggests that the thematic centrality of paternity and the related motif of intergenerational tension and harmony in the Homeric poems themselves inspired Ovid's approach. A second major argument is

her contention that Ovid takes his cue for his treatment of Homeric poetry from the repetition that characterizes Homeric narrative itself. Boyd also draws attention to Ovid's familiarity with Homeric scholarship and suggests intriguingly that he was interested in issues of authenticity and was drawn particularly to scenes of a controversial status, such as the *Doloneia* in *Iliad* 10 and the *Embassy to Achilles* in *Iliad* 9. Boyd argues that Ovid figures himself as a "wayward son," and she sees in his reading and reinterpretation of his models generally speaking a "distinctly contrarian perspective" (p. 36). The book deliberately privileges Homeric intertextuality and there are times when this focus risks underplaying Vergil's importance, especially regarding issues of poetic authority, but Boyd's aim is to counterbalance the dominance of Vergilian intertextuality in previous scholarship by a deliberate and salutary concentration on Ovid's reception of Homer and in this she succeeds. The first chapter sketches the reception of Homer and Homeric scholarship in Latin poetry and looks at the way in which Ovid in his elegies follows earlier Latin poets, such as Catullus and Propertius, in subversively refashioning Homer as an elegist *avant la lettre*. Boyd looks at two poems, *Am.* 1.9 and *Tr.* 2, from the beginning and end of Ovid's career, that exhibit Ovid's playful engagement with Homer as well as his increasing identification with his model. In Chapter 2 Boyd suggests that Diomedes functions as an alter-ego of Ovid in his Homeric role as a character who, while secondary, challenges authority, most notably in his confrontation with Aphrodite in *Iliad* 5. As a secondary character, however, he is also always threatened with the charge of degeneracy, thus he can embody Ovid's anxiety about textual succession. Boyd looks at *Amores* 1.7, a disturbing poem in which Ovid apologizes for physically assaulting his *puella*. Here Ovid's self-identification with Diomedes in his attack on Aphrodite creates generic tensions between epic pretensions and elegy, while violence is excused through the literary trope of Homeric allusion. The second passage concerning Diomedes, from *Metamorphoses* 14, has as its primary model Vergil's *Aeneid* and is less successfully analyzed in relation to Homer alone. Chapters 3-6 illustrate Boyd's argument that Ovid "explores the role of father or of son in his poetic relationship with Homer" (p. 76) and "encodes his identification as Homer's worthy heir" (p. 175). She looks at characters "for whom competition with one's father is a driving force" (p. 128). These episodes are analyzed as Ovidian metapoetic repositioning vis-à-vis Homer, as Ovid confronts his belatedness and his desire to outdo his model, while acknowledging his indebtedness. Her most powerful examples of this succession motif are the stories of Daedalus and Icarus (*Met.* 8) and Phaethon (*Met.* 1-2). In the latter episode, convincing parallels are drawn between the paternity concerns of Phaethon with those of Homer's Telemachus. The discussion takes an interesting turn when Boyd suggests that this theme of genealogical succession is also "an interpretive key" to the *Metamorphoses*' concluding paradigm of Augustus' surpassing of Julius Caesar. Chapters 5 and 6 considers Ovid's use of the metaphors of paternity in his exile poetry (*Tristia*), in which he casts himself as either wayward son or afflicted father. In Chapter 7 Boyd considers Ovid's appropriation of some of Homer's most prominent female characters, such as his elegiacization of Penelope in *Heroides* 1, where she is made to give "voice to an elegiac response to epic" (p. 198). Boyd's discussion of *Ars Amatoria* 2.125-8, the famous scene of storytelling between Calypso and Ulysses, centers more on the figure of Ulysses as a self-reflexive model for Ovid's Homeric intertextuality in his retelling of the Trojan War, as "repetition with a difference" (*AA* 2.128 *ille referre aliter saepe solebat idem*). In the final two chapters Boyd looks at the figures of Mars and Venus in a number of Ovid's poems, focusing on the famous scene of their entrapment by Vulcan as told in Homer's *Odyssey* (8.266-366). At *AA* 2.561-600 Ovid humorously reshapes the Homeric scene as a victory for the lovers and an apotropaic warning against adultery, while the retelling

in *Met.* 4 by one of the daughters of Minyas may reflect on the narrator's own final entrapment and transformation. In Chapter 9 Boyd explores further Ovid's treatment of Mars and Venus in the light of their Augustan appropriation (and Vergilian treatment), especially in the *Fasti*. This review cannot do justice to the many insightful interpretive readings of the individual passages which form the chapters of this book. Boyd's privileging of the Homeric intertext demonstrates powerfully that Ovid's intertextual relationship with Homer was throughout his career "a process involving both detailed observation and transformative revision" (p. 212). The accessibility of the book is greatly assisted by translations of all Latin and Greek passages and summaries of the relevant Homeric episodes.

Sara MYERS.

Stefano BRIGUGLIO, *Fraternas acies. Saggio di commento a Stazio, Tebaide, I, 1-389*. Presentazione di Federica BESSONE, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2017 (Millennium, 9), 21 × 15 cm, 455 p., 40 €, ISBN 978-88-6274-803-2.

Il volume, che nasce da una revisione della dissertazione dottorale dell'Autore, ritaglia come *focus* della sua attenzione una pericope ben delimitata di testo: i vv. 1,1-389 relativi ai prodromi dello scontro, ossia la maledizione di Edipo, l'intervento della Furia e quello di Giove nell'ambito del concilio degli dei, l'inizio del regno di Eteocle e l'esilio di Polinice. Tale scelta trova una sua precisa ragion d'essere nel carattere densamente programmatico e, per così dire, germinale di questa sezione del libro I nella quale trovano anticipazione molti dei temi e motivi portanti dell'opera, *in primis* la riflessione sul potere assoluto, ma anche molte delle dinamiche di relazione con i modelli che di questi stessi temi e/o del medesimo *mythos* si sono occupati in precedenza dai quali una *Nachdichtung* fieramente autoconsapevole della propria secondarietà non può e non intende prescindere. La funzione tematicamente fondante e la letterarietà di questo *incipit* sono, in effetti, due degli aspetti che maggiormente vengono sottolineati in una proficua sinergia, alimentata anche da puntuali rimandi interni, tra il commento, che, come ci si attende da un'esegesi di seconda generazione, ha un taglio più saggistico che referenziale (il precedente con cui Briguglio si relaziona con atteggiamento critico e propositivo è il volume: *P. Papinio Stazio. La Tebaide. Libro I*, intr., testo, trad. e note di F. Caviglia, Roma, 1973), e l'introduzione che compone in lucida sintesi le considerazioni analitiche proposte nei singoli lemmi. Oggetto di una nitida messa a fuoco sono, dunque, la studiata architettura del poema con le corresponsioni interne tra scene ed episodi del libro I e di altri libri, il ruolo poetologico attribuito al 'personaggio prologante' di Edipo, investito del compito autoriale di annunciare la vicenda e di delineare così la trama stessa della *Tebaide* e il suo patrimonio genetico, nonché la rete dei rapporti intertestuali, fatta di allusioni e di riprese ma anche di rivisitazioni e rifunzionalizzazioni di moduli compositivi canonici, che collega il poema ai suoi modelli. Tra questi vengono opportunamente individuati sia autori tragici, Sofocle e soprattutto Seneca al quale, per il contributo anche del *De clementia*, Stazio è debitore di una lezione sulla natura del potere e la "psico-patologia erotica nei confronti del *regnum*" (p. 49), sia autori epici come Virgilio e Ovidio, ma anche, in un delicato equilibrio tra tradizione augustea e innovazione neroniana, Lucano, la cui memoria innesca e rinfocola la tensione dialettica tra mito e realtà, tra Tebe e Roma. Un ulteriore referente è rappresentato da Pindaro la cui influenza è colta non tanto nello svolgimento diegetico, dove anzi sin da subito l'immagine e le vicende di Tebe sembrano connotarsi in modo molto diverso da come si evincono dal poeta greco, quanto piuttosto nell'autopresentazione proemiale di Stazio in quanto vate ispirato che improvvisa il proprio canto alla maniera dell'aedo omerico, rivendicando però la propria sovranità sull'oggetto del canto stesso attraverso moduli,

come ad esempio la *Priamel*, di ascendenza spiccatamente lirica. Dalla constatazione di questa commistione di movenze epiche e liriche, che accomuna la *Tebaide* e le *Siluae*, l'Autore trae una conclusione di peso circa l'unitarietà di ispirazione dei due versanti della produzione staziana distinti soltanto per una differenza di scala, una conclusione con la quale non posso che convenire in quanto io stessa me ne sono fatta sostenitrice (cf. A. Bonadeo, *Nella 'biblioteca' di Stazio: spigolature dalle Siluae*, in *BStudLat* 43, 2013, p. 37-86, part. 40 ss.). Sempre a proposito di questo proemio, in cui Stazio rivendica la libertà del proprio io poetico a fronte dei condizionamenti esterni incarnati dalle figure della Musa e dell'imperatore al quale rivolge una *recusatio*, ben indagata da Briguglio nelle sue peculiarità, circa la stesura di un poema epico-celebrativo, un altro spunto di interesse sollevato dal commento riguarda l'allusione al mito di Fetonte, già presente nel proemio della *Pharsalia*, che si coglie nell'immagine di Domiziano incoronato dal Sole. Quest'immagine, collegata al motivo del culto solare dell'imperatore, viene giustamente interpretata in chiave positiva come una sanzione della legittimità della successione al trono di Domiziano – il Fetonte staziano riceve la corona dalle mani del Sole e non ne ruba il carro come in altre varianti del mito – nell'ambito di una tempe politica e nello specifico contesto di un'opera che avvertono fortemente la problematicità del tema della successione. Personalmente forse, dati gli interessi dell'Autore per gli aspetti metaletterari e le corrispondenze intratestuali, sulla scorta del contributo di G. Rosati (*Statius, Domitian and the Acknowledging Paternity: Rituals of Succession in the Thebaid*, in J. J. L. Smolenaars et al. (ed.), *The Poetry of Statius*, Leiden / Boston, 2008, p. 175-193), che pure cita e discute, avrei maggiormente sottolineato il dialogo a distanza che si crea tra questa successione politica incipitaria e la successione letteraria che corrispondentemente si delinea nell'*explicit* del poema tra Virgilio e Stazio, così legittimato nella sua aspirazione al ruolo di *uates* nazionale. Accanto a questi ed altri temi di ampia portata, come ad esempio le problematiche connesse alla teologia e alla teodicea della *Tebaide*, le note di commento ospitano, come è ovvio, anche osservazioni più circoscritte e puntuali. Si spazia dalla sintassi alla metrica, apprezzabilmente considerate nel loro aspetto semico di catalizzatore della *Stimmung* di una determinata scena o di un determinato personaggio, per arrivare al lessico del quale si mettono convincentemente in luce il lavoro staziano di risemantizzazione di singoli termini o *iuncturae* tradizionali, parallelo al lavoro compiuto in scala maggiore su intere sequenze o moduli compositivi, il massiccio ricorso al grecismo e soprattutto – ed è questa forse la cifra dominante dello stile staziano – la voluta ricerca di una anfibologica polisemia che attiva diversi livelli di fruizione del testo a seconda delle differenti sensibilità dei singoli lettori / ascoltatori. Proprio quest'ultimo tratto lancia al traduttore una sfida inevitabilmente molto impegnativa, sfida che Briguglio sa cogliere e gestire con sobrietà ed equilibrio fornendo una traduzione decisamente limpida il cui spessore, però, di necessità si apprezza a pieno solamente alla luce delle annotazioni lessicali del commento che guidano nella selva dei significati secondi e allusivi che si annidano al di sotto della superficie del testo risultando spesso di fatto intraducibili. Un'analoga funzione di guida alla lettura e all'interpretazione del testo stampato è svolta dalle numerose note di carattere filologico in cui l'Autore motiva le proprie scelte editoriali sulla base di argomentazioni perlopiù legate all'appropriatezza semantico-contestuale di una data lezione e/o alle sue possibili implicazioni intertestuali o comunque alla sua appartenenza a modalità espressive tradizionali. Il testo stampato, come onestamente dichiara l'Autore stesso senza fare mistero della prevalenza nel suo lavoro di finalità esegetiche su quelle ecdotiche, non è frutto di una ricognizione sistematica dei codici, comunque registrati in un apparato selettivo, ma si fonda essenzialmente sull'edizione di J. B. Hall, Newcastle, 2007, da cui, però, come segnalato nella nota critica, talora si discosta seguendo in pochi casi



l'edizione di D. E. Hill, Leiden 1996<sup>2</sup> e proponendo in due occasioni soluzioni proprie. Un valore aggiunto del saggio, peraltro corredato di due utilissimi indici, quello dei principali *loci* citati e quello delle parole e cose notevoli, è rappresentato dalla ricchezza dell'informazione bibliografica, che copre un *range* vastissimo di autori, e dall'estrema accuratezza editoriale che fa registrare un numero davvero minimo di refusi. Ne emerge, dunque, il profilo di un'opera impegnata, che apporta un notevole contributo all'esegesi e alla critica della *Tebaide* e indubbiamente si rivela del tutto meritevole di quel *benignum iter* che, sulla scorta dell'auspicio espresso da Stazio stesso per il suo poema, le augurano, nella loro presentazione al volume, Federica Bessone e Giuseppina Magnaldi.

Alessia BONADEO.

Bruno BUREAU / Paul-Augustin DEPROOST, *Arator. Histoire apostolique*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2017 (CUF), 19 × 12,5 cm, CXCII-494 p. en partie doubles, fig., 89 €, ISBN 978-2-251-01478-4.

*Arator's Historia Apostolica (H.A.)*, a reworking in Latin hexameters of The Acts of the Apostles, written in 544, has been the subject of renewed scholarly attention over the last thirty years, not least from Bureau and Deproost, each having written a significant monograph on the poem: B. Bureau, *Lettre et sens mystique dans l'Historia Apostolica d'Arator. Exégèse et épopée*, Paris, 1997 and P.-A. Deproost, *L'Apôtre Pierre dans une épopée du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'Historia apostolica d'Arator*, Paris, 1990. Nonetheless, a further edition, so soon after that of A. P. Orbán (CCSL 130-130A, Turnhout, 2006), might be thought unnecessary. However, Orbán's work was in many ways a missed opportunity to improve on the first critical edition, that of A. P. McKinlay (CSEL 72, Vienna, 1951). Although welcomed for its extensive collection of the medieval glosses attracted by the poem, Orbán's edition not only made very few alterations to the text established by McKinlay (whose publication was not received uncritically), but perpetuated the misleading manner of its presentation by inserting before each pericope of verse a prose introduction or summary (called *capitula* by McKinlay but more correctly *tituli* by Bureau / Deproost) long acknowledged not to be the work of the poet. Bureau / Deproost correct both these faults. They rightly confine the *tituli* to a separate section, discussing briefly when and why they might have been produced (p. cviii-cix); for the detailed case against their authenticity the reader should consult J. Schwind, *Arator-Studien*, Göttingen, 1990, p. 32-36. More importantly, they make more than 120 changes from the text as published by McKinlay and Orbán, conveniently listed in an introductory table (p. clxxiii-clxxvii), to which should be added the following inadvertent omissions: *caelo* (for *caelum*) at l. 27, *tota* (for *sola*) at l. 325, and *timori est* (for McKinlay's *timoris*) at l. 468. It would perhaps have been more interesting to have included differences from the only other widely available edition, that of H. J. Arntzen (Zutphen, 1769 = PL 68, col. 45-252), and have conflated the readings of McKinlay and Orbán (at variance on only three occasions) into a single column. The volume begins with a substantial introduction in which the authors discuss Arator's life, the nature and construction of the *H.A.*, his exegetical method, his use of language and treatment of the hexameter, and, undoubtedly the most original and important section, the transmission of the text. On Arator's life, the authors give a sound and reliable discussion of the evidence which survives in the works of Ennodius and Cassiodorus, as well as Arator's three verse-letters to Pope Vigilius, the abbot Florianus, and his friend Parthenius, and the anonymous notice (called here the *relatio*) preserved in many MSS which records the circumstances of the poem's presentation to Vigilius and its subsequent public performances. A slightly fuller examination of the information to be found in the writings of Ennodius would have



been welcome, not least a reference to the much-repeated view that the young Arator committed himself to an ascetic life (first voiced by S. A. H. Kennell, *Magnus Felix Ennodius: A Gentleman of the Church*, Ann Arbor, 2000, p. 71, 117, 161-162, 165). Such a theory deserves a mention before being debunked. In addition, I am not as sure as the authors that Arator held the post of *comes rerum priuatarum* at the Ostrogothic court. The implication of Cass. Var. 8. 12 is not at all clear (I am minded to agree that the phrase *grande negotium* refers rather to his appointment as *consiliarius* to the Gothic commander Tuluin: S. J. B. Barnish (trans.), *Selected Variae of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, Liverpool, 1992 [repr. 2010], p. 104). The authors' case (p. xiv-xvi) ultimately rests on the version of the *relatio* found in two of the earliest MSS, both copied in Reims (Paris, B.N. Lat. 9347 [R in this edition] and 2773 [Θ]), which describe Arator as *ex comite priuatarum* (p. 185), terminology referring to a secular career which the authors suggest that later scribes omitted (p. cxxx). This may be correct. But it could also be that the version which made its way to Reims had already been 'improved' by someone on the basis of their understanding of Cass. Var. 8. 12. The authors' discussion of the three verse-letters is largely excellent, but I wonder if they give slightly too much weight to some of Arator's more conventional statements. Arator's claim to need Vigilius' guidance in the matter of *dogmata* (*Ep. ad Vig.* 29) does not mean he is 'fort novice en théologie' (p. xix) nor should his request that Florianus look favourably on his 'faltering feet' (pun intended) (*Ep. ad Flor.* 5-6) be seen as a genuine request that his friend correct his faults (p. xx): the topos of false modesty is too common for Arator's 'humility' to be taken at face value. His words certainly do not indicate that the letter to Florianus accompanied a version of the *H.A.* earlier than the one presented to Vigilius, regardless of the note in two MSS which is no more than a (naive) summary of the content of the letter (p. cvi-cvii). The next three sections of the introduction (p. xxii-cv) are very strong indeed and provide anyone new to the *H.A.* with a thorough, insightful and stimulating guide to the poet's aims, influences and techniques. I found particularly interesting the extent to which he was influenced in his use of the hexameter by Dracontius, a writer Arator is often claimed to have known on the basis of too little evidence. However, where the authors really do break new ground is in their discussion of the transmission of the text. They first establish of what the Aratorian corpus was composed in the middle of the sixth century: the letter to Vigilius (widely accepted as the preface to the poem), the two books of the *H.A.*, followed by 'le paratexte autorial', namely either one or both of the letters to Florianus and Parthenius (p. cix). To this they add the *capitulationes*, single-sentence headings for each of the verse sections (previously called *tituli* by McKinlay and Orbán). However, whilst these were clearly added at an early stage, to help the reader follow a narrative which is frequently devoid of any kind of sign-post (place-names, minor characters), it is hard to believe that these could have been part of the original sixth-century corpus. By the beginning of the ninth century (and probably earlier) had been added the rest of 'le paratexte éditorial': the longer prose *tituli* (for McKinlay: *capitula*), which exist in a double recension for the whole of *H.A.* 1 and much of *H.A.* 2, and the *relatio*. Whilst not every MS contains this complete paratext, all MSS (excepting the fragmentary ones) contain at least some of it. As far as establishing the text, the authors adopt a radically different (and surely correct) approach. After years of collating MSS, by the time McKinlay published his edition he was seemingly unable to see the wood for the trees; Orbán inexplicably chose to prioritise those MSS which had been glossed; Bureau / Deproost, following the lead of T. Licht (*Aratoris fortuna. Aufgang und Überlieferung der Historia apostolica*, in A. Jördens et al. (ed.), *Quaerite faciem eius semper. Studien zu den geistesgeschichtlichen Beziehungen zwischen Antike und Christentum als Dankesgabe für Albrecht Dihle aus dem Heidelberg*

*„Kirchenväterkolloquium“*, Hamburg, 2008, p. 163-179), instead aim to strip away the scholastic accretions of several hundred years (glosses, summaries, ‘learned’ corrections) ‘pour tenter de retrouver un état du dossier Arator qui n’était pas encore parasité par cette uniformisation’ (p. cxiii). To this end they confine themselves to just twenty-six MSS from the seventh to eleventh centuries and use as their preferred witnesses especially Milan, B.A. C 74 sup. (A) and Paris, B.N. Lat. 9347 (R) and 18554 (T). Crucially, the authors recognise that the glosses (whether Latin, High-German or Anglo-Saxon) developed separately from the text: scholars were capable of taking the text from one MS and the glosses from another (and revising and adapting both *en route*). The resulting *stemma codicum* (p. clxv), including no fewer than nine putative ‘lost’ exemplars, posits a lost archetype ( $\alpha$ ), from which two (also lost) copies were made ( $\alpha'$  and  $\alpha''$ ):  $\alpha'$  preserved the ‘original’ text and paratext (the model for R);  $\alpha''$ , for whatever reason, lost the letter to Parthenius and the *relatio* in its longer form. From  $\alpha''$  came  $\pi$  (also lost) from which came another line which continued to edit and adapt the *tituli* (hence the authors’ second recension). My summary is a gross over-simplification, but the *stemma* (attempted by neither McKinlay nor Orbán) is quite simply a stunning achievement. The only spectre at the feast is the earliest but incomplete witness to the text: Bodleianus E. Mus. 66. Written probably in North Italy in the seventh century, had it been complete it might, as the authors admit (p. cxxxi), have necessitated some rethinking. After a select bibliography, there follow the text and translation of the letter to Vigilus, the *capitulationes* and text first of H.A. 1 then of H.A. 2, the *tituli* in their double recension, and, finally, the *relatio*. A few examples must suffice, but the authors make well-argued changes at some well-known textual cruxes: e.g. *uergentibus* (given only by A) for *manentibus* / *manantibus* at 2. 545. They engage in some impressive detective work: e.g. *capescunt* at 1. 218 (*capessunt* elsewhere) on the grounds of the scribal error *tabescunt* in A. Occasionally, however, it seems to me that the authors have been rather too bold: e.g. at 2. 831 they read *O delecta manus* (against *dilecta* in the best MSS), arguing an imitation of Silius Italicus (e.g. 2. 370), when it is entirely typical of Arator to take an existing phrase and alter it for his own purposes; at 1. 373-377 and 2. 118-122 they engage in a reordering of lines (requiring textual conjectures with no MS support), concluding that a ‘problem’ arose before the ninth century and that their resulting arrangement makes better sense. But, for the most part, the changes are well-judged: e.g. *praesentius* is an ingenious solution to the crux at *Ep. ad Parth.* 47. The translation is accurate and reads very well, notwithstanding the odd inconsistency (e.g. ‘quatre fois dix’ for the archaic *quater denis* at 1. 21 but ‘quarante’ for *quater deni* at 2. 1001) and the rare slip (*opem* is twice translated as if it were the accusative of *opus*: ‘œuvre’ 2. 253, ‘acte’ 2. 287), an error which marred some of Bureau’s translations in his 1997 study; *necis esse reum* (2. 916) echoes Matt. 26. 66 *reus est mortis*: Paul is, like Jesus, ‘guilty and must die’, not merely ‘coupable d’un crime’. Arator’s Latin is not always easy to construe and interpretations inevitably differ, but I struggle to see how 2. 987 *dubia tantum stimulatus ab aure* can mean ‘lorsqu’il [sc. *fragor*] vibre seulement dans une oreille hésitante’. I would suggest adding the clause to the previous sentence: it is not true speech if the hearer is ‘so little aroused by what he is unsure he has heard’. The text is followed by lengthy notes which primarily discuss (and justify when necessary) textual variants, examine Arator’s handling of the text of Acts (oddly given in the original Greek rather than the Latin known by the presumed non-Hellenophone Arator), and suggest models for both expression and content. The authors point to well-established sources such as Ambrose, Sedulius, Origen (in Rufinus’ translation) and Augustine, although there are some omissions: e.g. discussion (p. 439) of Arator’s punning on *mors* / *morsus* (2. 1196-1197) should refer to its biblical origin (Hos. 13. 14) and Aug. *Peccat.*

*merit.* 1. 32 (61) (see R. Hillier, *Arator and Baptism in Sixth-Century Rome*, in *Studia Patristica* 71, 2014, p. 111-133, part. 120-122); but they also importantly establish for the first time the considerable influence of the Paulinuses of Nola and Périgueux. Parallels with secular Latin poets are also highlighted, but whether the intertextuality is always as dynamic as implied is moot. Those who find Arator's Latin hard will need supplementary support: McKinlay's *index grammaticus* and *index uerborum* (despite their inaccuracies) and J. Schwind, *Sprachliche and exegetische Beobachtungen zu Arator*, Stuttgart, 1995 are still indispensable. The volume is handsomely produced, with only a few misprints which I noticed: on p. viii it should be '*Epics*' (n. 2) and '*naissance*' (n. 3); on p. clxxv McKinlay read *multiplici* at 2. 327 not *multiplicem*; on p. clxxvii it should be *ad Flor.* 21 (not 22); on p. clxxxii, Duckworth's title concerns '*Poetry*' (not '*Poets*'); on p. 396 the note on 2. 831 should refer to lines 830 / 832 (not 850 / 852); on p. 449 (note on line 21) *Aen.* 12. 681 should read 683. In short, this is a bold and stimulating piece of work and an exciting addition to the CUF.

Richard HILLIER.

Tiziana CARBONI, *La parola scritta al servizio dell'imperatore e dell'impero: l'ab epistulis e l'a libellis nel II secolo d.C.*, Bonn, R. Habelt, 2017 (Antiquitas. Reihe 1. Abhandlungen zur Alten Geschichte, 70), 22,5 × 16,5 cm, 289 p., fig., 73 €, ISBN 978-3-7749-4078-9.

La naturaleza del sistema administrativo en que se sustentó el Imperio Romano es uno de los grandes temas a debate en la historiografía. En particular, existen posiciones encontradas en torno a si se pueden, o no, aplicar conceptos propios de los estados de la era industrial como burocracia o funcionariado a la realidad administrativa del Imperio Romano y acerca de qué grado de desarrollo alcanzó la estructura administrativa del mismo. La monografía de Tiziana Carboni se inserta en esta problemática (p. 5-7) y pretende arrojar luz a tal cuestión a través del análisis de dos puestos clave de la cancillería imperial: los secretarios *ab epistulis* y *a libellis* en un momento crucial de su desarrollo, el siglo II, cuando la relevancia social de estos puestos se vio acrecentada como consecuencia de la selección de sus titulares entre miembros destacados del *ordo equester*. El objetivo de este estudio es "recuperare l'interesse dei due *officia*, ricostruendone il concreto funzionamento" (p. 6), lo que lleva a la autora no sólo a perfilar las funciones de ambos cargos, sino a analizar los mecanismos de funcionamiento de la cancillería imperial: desde el modo y los factores que condicionaron la elección de los titulares de ambos puestos a su intervención en la generación de los documentos oficiales ligados a las comunicaciones oficiales del emperador. Los *ab epistulis* y *a libellis*, en efecto, estaban en contacto directo y cotidiano con éste, pues eran los encargados, respectivamente, de la correspondencia del *princeps* y de sus respuestas a las peticiones y consultas tanto de los agentes imperiales como de particulares. Carboni aborda el estudio de los *ab epistulis* y *a libellis* a través de una doble vía, buscando exprimir al máximo las noticias conservadas en las fuentes literarias, jurídicas y epigráficas: la prosopografía, por un lado, y el análisis de los documentos producidos por ambos *officia*, por otro. Ambas cuestiones ocupan los capítulos II y III, respectivamente. Antes dedica el breve Capítulo I (p. 9-17) a un oportuno repaso del estado de la investigación dedicada a la carrera administrativa ecuestre (estructura, formación...) y al funcionamiento de la cancillería imperial, deteniéndose particularmente en el debate sobre la forma en que las respuestas imperiales a los *libelli* llegaban a los interesados (p. 13-14). La autora señala que hoy en día prevalece "l'idea della complessità che presiede al funzionamento della prassi amministrativa e che difficilmente può essere ridotta all'interno di facili schemi" (p. 14) y su monografía confirma esa visión. El Capítulo II (p. 19-95) tiene un carácter prosopográfico, pero no se reduce a una nueva propuesta de ordenación cronológica de

los *ab epistulis* y *a libellis* conocidos, sino que pretende analizar el espectro social al que pertenecían y, sobre todo, la formación y el nivel de profesionalización que alcanzaron (p. 15) – elementos estos últimos que definen al funcionariado y a un sistema burocrático tal y como hoy se entiende. La autora realiza un repaso de los casos conocidos, analizando con detenimiento las dinámicas que rigieron su elección y el ejercicio de sus tareas administrativas bajo cada emperador hasta llegar a los Severos. Aparte de las interesantes propuestas propias acerca de la datación de determinados funcionarios o de su caracterización, la autora aporta dos ideas fundamentales que caben ser destacadas. La primera, que la elección de los directores de ambos puestos no dependió tanto de su preparación para el mismo como de las recomendaciones que los avalasen y, sobre todo, de su cercanía personal a los círculos de poder de Roma y a la propia familia imperial – incluso bajo los Severos, período en que se ha tendido a ver una tendencia a designar juristas para tales puestos (p. 88). La segunda, que su selección dependía en última instancia del emperador y que, si bien éste debía respetar la jerarquía de la carrera ecuestre, escogía a sus secretarios en función de necesidades coyunturales y según su voluntad. En este sentido, Carboni recalca que el *consilium principis* del que solían formar parte los *ab epistulis* o *a libellis* (vid. *Tabula de Banasa*) no tenía una estructura fija y que no estaban siempre presentes en él los mismos funcionarios (p. 60 y 207). Cabe ser señalado también que la autora está de acuerdo con la hipótesis de que la separación institucional del *officium ab epistulis* en las ramas latina y griega tuvo lugar sólo durante el principado conjunto de Marco Aurelio y Lucio Vero, atribuyéndolo al hecho de que este último necesitó de un secretario propio mientras estuvo de misión en Oriente (p. 47-48). En su opinión, la ausencia de testimonios del *ab epistulis Graecis* bajo Antonino Pío muestra que el precedente de época de Adriano no tuvo continuidad en el tiempo (p. 48). El último director de un *officium ab epistulis* único sería, a su juicio, *Titus Varius Clemens* (p. 48-49 y 59). Sin embargo, la inexistencia de un *ab epistulis Graecis* bajo Antonino Pío dista de estar clara, pues el argumento *e silentio* nunca es definitivo. La obra se cierra con un útil apéndice prosopográfico en que se presentan cuadros cronológicos de todos los *ab epistulis* y *a libellis* conocidos (p. 223-231). En el Capítulo III (el más extenso con diferencia, p. 97-207) Carboni realiza un análisis exhaustivo de todos los documentos conocidos – tanto de manera directa (a través de inscripciones y papiros) como indirecta (fuentes jurídicas y, en menor medida, literarias) – que presentan las características formales de una *epistula* o de una *subscriptio* producidas por sendos *officia* (p. 101). La autora supera con solvencia las dificultades inherentes a las fuentes y, a partir de un elenco detallado de todos los testimonios disponibles (en su mayor parte referidos a las provincias orientales), desgrana los motivos que solían llevar a la composición de tales documentos oficiales, su publicación y su conservación posterior, muestra las características de los mismos y logra ofrecer una idea aproximada del importante volumen de trabajo que debía ser asumido por estos dos *officia*. A propósito del debate en torno al modo de trabajar de los *a libellis* y la forma en que se publicaban las respuestas oficiales concluye que en este período “i libelli sottoposti all’imperatore con le relative risposte venivano esposti in un pubblico luogo [...] e tutti coloro che avevano interesse a conoscere la risposta entravano in possesso di una copia del documento emesso”, descartando la hipótesis de que el original se enviase al interesado y sólo se conservase una copia en los archivos imperiales (p. 204). Un caso paradigmático de este procedimiento administrativo es el del rescripto de Antonino Pío dirigido a *Sextilius Acutianus* del que se ha conservado una copia en una inscripción de Esmirna (*CIL* III, 411; p. 136 y 143). En lo que respecta a las *epistulae*, Carboni concluye que se rigen por un tipo de comunicación que responde a las leyes de la diplomacia y que el texto de cada una, bajo todo el período que estudia, está fuertemente estandarizado (p. 119). La autora señala la enorme dificultad que existe para proceder a la individuación de los

autores de las *epistulae*, dado que, además de la estandarización estilística de sus textos, se carece de otras obras de estos individuos que puedan ser usadas como elemento comparativo (p. 152; esto es retomado en el capítulo siguiente, p. 217-218). Con todo, logra proponer verosíblemente los autores de algunas de ellas, particularmente las producidas bajo Adriano y los Severos, pero valiéndose más de elementos cronológicos que de criterios formales relacionados con el texto. En el Capítulo IV Carboni presenta, a modo de conclusión, un conciso “perfil administrativo” de los *ab epistulis* y *a libellis*. En lo que respecta a la percepción de ambos puestos, la autora se decanta por evitar las categorías modernas pues, en su opinión, “dovrebbero essere considerati [...] più che uffici nel senso moderno del termine, funzioni che consentono all’Imperatore di comunicare la propria parola e, quindi, di governare”. Ahora bien, no deja de reconocer que existen ciertos elementos que los acercan a los funcionarios modernos, como su continuidad en la administración o la serie de reglas no escritas que estructuran la carrera administrativa ecuestre y condicionan los destinos de cada uno (p. 209-210). También señala acertadamente que ambos *officia* hubieron de colaborar forzosamente en muchos casos. En concreto, el *ab epistulis* parece haber contado con un radio de acción más amplio, dado que cualquier tipo de documento enviado por el emperador (bien a gobernadores y otros cargos administrativos, bien a particulares) iba acompañado de una *epistula* que clarificaba su contenido y aplicación (p. 212). Por último, es especialmente interesante la reconstrucción del funcionamiento de ambos *officia* que propone Carboni, a partir de una comparación prudente con el *officium* de los gobernadores provinciales (en particular el de Egipto). La autora muestra que, lejos de ser una figura pasiva, el emperador jugaba un papel activo en el proceso de elaboración de las *epistulae* y *subscriptiones*, supervisando cada caso. En lo que respecta a las *subscriptiones* existían diferentes fases de autenticación y verificación a que eran sometidos los documentos oficiales durante su elaboración, lo que revela el notable grado de desarrollo que alcanzaron los mecanismos administrativos en esta época (p. 219). Tiziana Carboni ofrece un estudio exhaustivo y riguroso acerca de la naturaleza y actividad de los funcionarios *ab epistulis* y *a libellis*, utilizando con solvencia tanto el acercamiento prosopográfico como el análisis formal de los documentos oficiales. El retrato final que emerge es el de una administración que alcanzó un notable grado de desarrollo y un funcionamiento complejo pero en la que, al mismo tiempo, tuvo un peso innegable el carácter personalista del régimen imperial. La labor de los *ab epistulis* y *a libellis* estuvo dirigida a hacer llegar la palabra y la voluntad del emperador a todos los rincones del imperio. Por ello, la relevancia de los titulares de ambos puestos no radicó tanto en sus conocimientos especializados sino en su cercanía personal al emperador y en su pericia para elaborar, en sintonía con éste, las respuestas apropiadas para cada uno de sus destinatarios, contribuyendo a modelar los modos de comunicación del emperador con sus subordinados y sus súbditos.

Rubén OLMO-LÓPEZ.

Francesco CITTI / Alessandro IANNUCCI / Antonio ZIOSI (ed.), *Troiane classiche e contemporanee*, Hildesheim / Zürich / New York, G. Olms, 2017 (Spudasmata, 173), 21 × 15 cm, VIII-363 p., fig., 84 €, ISBN 978-3-487-15373-5.

Les articles rassemblés dans ce volume sont issus, pour la plupart, de communications présentées pendant un colloque interdisciplinaire sur les *Troyennes* (Ravenne, 2015). Quelles *Troyennes* ? Premièrement celles d’Euripide, qui met en scène les femmes des Troyens dans leur extrême misère à la fin de la guerre contre les Grecs et livre ainsi le texte / la pièce-source des réécritures et rethéâtralisations suivantes. L’intention interdisciplinaire qui préside à l’ouvrage, évidente déjà dans le titre, est confirmée par la lecture des articles, qui portent sur des aspects multiples des *Troyennes* grecques et de

leur fortune (réception) à travers différentes époques, cultures et langues. Malgré la variété des approches et perspectives proposées (critique littéraire, dramaturgie, métrique, cinéma), motivée vraisemblablement par le domaine de recherche propre à chaque contributeur, on peut aisément retrouver un fil rouge qui parcourt le volume et lui confère une unité, tout en en faisant un instrument utile, à la fois, aux praticiens des études classiques et aux spécialistes des époques moderne et contemporaine. En effet, ces pages offrent aux lecteurs une portion très consistante de l'histoire des *Troyennes* en tant que texte et *performance* depuis le théâtre attique du V<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. jusqu'à la scène actuelle (même si les éditeurs ont choisi de ne pas diviser le volume en sections, l'ordre selon lequel les articles se succèdent est clair). Par sa couverture et la diversité de son contenu, cet ouvrage sur les *Troyennes* et leurs « variations » est une contribution importante aux études sur le théâtre ancien et sa réception. Les trois premiers articles du volume sont consacrés spécifiquement aux *Troyennes* d'Euripide : V. Andò (« Guerra, politica e funzione poetica tra *Troiane* e *Ifigenia in Aulide* ») propose de lire cette tragédie en parallèle avec la pièce composée en dernier lieu par l'auteur, l'*Iphigénie en Aulide*, dans le but de comparer la manière dont Euripide a abordé le thème de la guerre et celui du sacrifice (l'épisode du sacrifice de Polyxène dans l'*Hécube* aurait aussi pu apporter une contribution à la discussion) ; N. Croally (« *Troades*' remarkable *agon* ») se concentre sur l'anomalie de l'agôn entre Hécube et Hélène – anomalie qui est « tonale » plus que thématique – et émet l'hypothèse convaincante que l'agôn aurait pour fonction de produire une pause dans l'action dramatique, en ouvrant en même temps la pièce à la catégorie esthétique du grotesque (expérimentée ailleurs par Euripide). G. Fanfani (« Moduli di rappresentazione corale nelle *Troiane* di Euripide ») attire l'attention sur les parties chorales de la tragédie, dont il analyse certains aspects qui intéresseront surtout les hellénistes et les spécialistes de métrique grecque. Les articles suivants traitent de la seule réécriture romaine qui nous est parvenue intégralement, les *Troyennes* de Sénèque, puisque, comme il est bien connu, le *corpus* des tragédies romaines archaïques est perdu, y compris les drames au sujet troyen. Dans cette tragédie chorale dominée par des voix féminines, A. Casamento (« Due padri, due figli: modelli drammatici "al maschile" nelle *Troiane* di Seneca ») choisit de mettre en relief les rapports entre certains personnages masculins, notamment père et fils (d'un côté Pyrrhus et Achille, de l'autre Astyanax et Hector), démontrant comment ces rapports sont régulés par un principe de continuité d'action ou de destin. R. Degl'Innocenti Pierini (« *Hymen funestus*: i paradossi di Elena nelle *Troades* senecane ») analyse les différentes facettes de la figure d'Hélène dans la tragédie de Sénèque en relation avec la (riche) tradition littéraire précédente, en mettant l'accent sur les nouveautés introduites par l'auteur romain : Hélène, créature onomastiquement funeste déjà dans l'*Agamemnon* d'Eschyle, est investie ici de la fonction de *pronuba* de Polyxène dans le rite du mariage symbolique de celle-ci avec la mort. L'article de G. Guastella (« *Fata si poscent*: la costruzione dell'intreccio nelle *Troades* di Seneca ») porte, d'une part, sur l'absence de cohésion dans le récit des *Troades*, qui se présentent comme une succession de tableaux plutôt que comme un drame unitaire, et d'autre part sur la figure de Calchas : son *responsum* crée un « lien » narratif (apparemment inédit) entre le sacrifice de Polyxène et celui d'Astyanax. Cet article offre aussi des remarques intéressantes concernant les appréciations portées sur la qualité esthétique de cette tragédie à travers les époques. Dans l'article suivant (« Combat trauma and Seneca's *Troades* »), également dû à la plume d'un spécialiste de la tragédie de Sénèque, T. D. Kohn essaie de comprendre et d'expliquer les comportements des personnages de la tragédie, qui sont marqués par les affreux souvenirs de la prise de Troie, par l'apathie ou par des états soudains d'excitation, à la lumière de ce qu'on appelle *Post Traumatic Stress Disorder* (PTSD) ; il s'agit là d'une interprétation qui ne convaincra sans doute



pas tous les latinistes mais qui, à mon avis, montre bien que les concepts, notions ou catégories de la modernité peuvent déjà poindre dans les textes anciens. Récemment, I. Torrance a, elle aussi, eu recours à la notion de PTSD et l'a appliquée au personnage d'Hercule, considéré comme un vétéran, dans *l'Hercules furens* (I. Torrance, *Heracles and Hercules: Ancient Model for PTSD in Euripides and Seneca*, in *Maia* 69, 2017, p. 231-246). Cette partie du volume est conclue de manière idéale par un article de G. Brunetti sur certains aspects de la transmission médiévale des tragédies de Sénèque (« Per la "riscoperta" europea delle tragedie di Seneca: note sulle *Troiane* in alcuni manoscritti e commenti medioevali »). L'article de A. Ziosi (« Il fantasma del modello. Le *umbræ* delle *Troades* sui bastioni di Elsinore e i "polacchi in slitta" ») inaugure la partie suivante, centrée sur la fortune et la réception des *Troyennes* dans le théâtre européen à partir des drames de Shakespeare. L'auteur montre, au moyen d'une argumentation convaincante, comment la détection de la trace d'un modèle peut avoir des implications littéraires aussi bien que philologiques : il propose de résoudre une fameuse *crux* d'*Hamlet* en 1.1.63-66 en invoquant l'influence de Sen. *Tro.* 181-89 sur ce passage. Dans ce cas, il s'agit bien évidemment d'un exemple de réception « partielle » ou « sélective » du drame ancien, tandis que dans les articles suivants, on rencontre des discussions qui portent, quant à elles, sur de véritables opérations de réécriture ou de réactualisation des tragédies d'Euripide ou de Sénèque. M. P. Funaioli (« Le *Troiane* in Francia tra XVI e XVIII secolo ») étudie, à partir de quelques exemples, la fortune de ce thème tragique entre la Renaissance et les Lumières françaises ; L. Giuliani (« Le *Troades* nel teatro del siglo de oro spagnolo dall'imitazione frammentaria alla traduzione esemplarizzante ») livre des observations intéressantes sur la frontière incertaine entre intertextualité et interdiscursivité et sur l'imitation fragmentaire dans le théâtre espagnol du Siècle d'or ; M. Treu (« Quattro donne, un coro : Euripide destrutturato. Riscritture e allestimenti recenti delle *Troiane* ») se concentre sur quelques exemples de mise en scène contemporaine des *Troyennes*, en soulignant la volonté, de la part des auteurs modernes, de conférer une actualité, parfois très radicale, au drame / récit ancien ; G. L. Tusini (« Eredità delle *Troiane* nell'arte contemporanea : macerie della postmodernità ») offre une riche documentation sur la fortune artistique de ce sujet tragique ; R. M. Danese (« Le *Troiane* di Euripide e di Vittorio Cottafavi ») aborde les questions soulevées par l'adaptation de Cottafavi pour la télévision en 1967 et l'analyse en relation étroite avec la tragédie d'Euripide, dans le but de montrer comment l'auteur, travaillant sur le texte ancien, a voulu concilier la fidélité au modèle avec la nécessité d'utiliser une différente « mise en page », celle de la télévision. L'article conclusif du volume par G. Manzoli (« Bigger than theatre : le dive troiane di Michael Cacoyannis ») nous fait passer de la scène théâtrale (et télévisuelle) à celle du cinéma, en mettant en lumière la manière dont le médium cinématographique a abordé le mythe classique représenté par les *Troyennes* d'Euripide. Les acteurs, ou plutôt les actrices, se sont substituées avec leur visage et leur personnalité aux interprètes masqués du drame ancien, de sorte que le sujet mythique est devenu inséparable du phénomène du « divisme », qui est propre aux adaptations cinématographiques (cf. la Médée interprétée par la « diva » Maria Callas dans le film de P. P. Pasolini, sorti en 1969).

Chiara BATTISTELLA.

Christopher DEGELMANN, *Squalor: Symbolisches Trauern in der Politischen Kommunikation der Römischen Republik und Frühen Kaiserzeit*, Stuttgart, F. Steiner, 2018 (Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge, 61), 24 × 17 cm, 361 p., fig., 58 €, ISBN 978-3-515-11784-5.

Studien zur symbolischen Kommunikation nehmen in der Mittelalterforschung bereits seit Jahrzehnten einen festen Platz ein und haben sich als außerordentlich produktiv für



das Verständnis der untersuchten Kulturen erwiesen. Zunehmend wird dieser Ansatz auch in der Altertumskunde rezipiert. Ein Beispiel hierfür ist die vorliegende, aus einer Erfurter Dissertation hervorgegangene Studie von Christopher Degelmann zum „symbolischen Trauern“ in römischer Republik und früher Kaiserzeit. Der sogenannte *squalor*, also das Ablegen von Rangabzeichen, das ‚Beschmutzen‘ der Kleidung und die Vernachlässigung der Pflege von Haupt- und Barthaar, war Teil des Trauerrituals. Römische Aristokraten bedienten sich dieses Zeichenrepertoires aber auch, um gegen vermeintlich ehrabschneidende Behandlung zu protestieren. Wegen des dann meist fehlenden Bezugs zu einem tatsächlichen Todesfall bezeichnet Degelmann dieses stilisierte Handeln als eine „Trauerpraxis zweiter Ordnung“ (S. 13). Der *squalor* begegnet uns vor allem im Prozesswesen, als ein Mittel der Angeklagten zur Beeinflussung der Richter, fand jedoch ebenso in originär politischen Konflikten rege Anwendung. Wie der Verfasser zeigen kann, kombinierten die Akteure dabei Elemente des *luctus* mit Bausteinen anderer ritueller Ausdrucksweisen. Einschlägiges Beispiel für diese kulturelle Bastelarbeit ist die Fusion von eingespielten Taktiken des Wahlkampfs – Umhergehen auf dem Forum (*ambitio*), intensives Händeschütteln (*prensatio*) – mit der dunklen Kleidung des Trauernden. Je nach politischer Konstellation und individueller Zielsetzung wurden passende Ritime ausgewählt und neu verkettet. Insofern ist Degelmanns Arbeit auch als ein überzeugendes Plädoyer für ein dynamisches Ritualverständnis und eine Fokussierung der Analyse auf die performativen Aspekte symbolischer Kommunikation zu lesen. Degelmann beleuchtet das Phänomen des *squalor* aus systematischer Perspektive. Kompetent und wohlinformiert wendet er dabei die Begrifflichkeiten und Instrumentarien der Ritual-, Diskurs- und Performativitätsforschung an. Er weiß der allzu verlockenden Falle zu entgehen, von der literarischen Darstellung hochcodierter symbolischer Verhaltensweisen ohne weiteres auf die historische Praxis kurzzuschließen. Ausdruck dieser methodischen Umsicht ist die grundlegende Unterscheidung zwischen literarisch vermittelten „Trauerszenen“ und den sorgfältig inszenierten „Trauerakten“ der historischen Protagonisten (S. 20). Eine zweite Differenzierung nimmt Degelmann auf analytischer Ebene vor, indem er die „instrumentelle“ von der „symbolischen“ Seite des *squalor* trennt. Demnach konnte das Anlegen des Trauergewandes zwar symbolisch durchaus erfolgreich sein (also in seiner Bedeutung von den Rezipienten korrekt entschlüsselt werden), instrumentell aber dennoch scheitern – die Handlung lief ins Leere, traf gar auf Widerstand, die beabsichtigte praktische Wirkung stellte sich also nicht ein. Die ca. 300 Seiten umfassende Untersuchung ist in fünf Teile mit insgesamt 16 Kapiteln untergliedert. Auf die orientierende Einleitung folgen recht umfangreiche „Prolegomena“, in denen unter anderem die theoretischen Grundlagen dargelegt werden. In einem Dreischritt geht Degelmann dann zunächst die Fragen der literarischen Verarbeitung und Konstituierung des *squalor* an („diskursive Praxis“), wendet sich dem semantischen Wert der symbolischen Handlungen zu („Zeichenrepertoire“), um schließlich zu Fragen der Wirkungsästhetik zu gelangen. Der fünfte Teil ist mit „Zusammenfassung“ nicht ganz zutreffend überschrieben. Denn die ersten beiden der insgesamt drei Kapitel dieses Teils greifen durchaus neue Aspekte auf, insbesondere die Entwicklung des *squalor* im ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert. Allein das 16. Kapitel bildet dann ein zehnsseitiges „Fazit“ im eigentlichen Sinn. Die geschilderte Struktur und ihre konkrete Umsetzung sind ambivalent zu bewerten. Das Buch setzt eine Lektüre „from cover to cover“ weder voraus noch ermutigt es eine solche. Vielmehr treten die einzelnen Kapitel als nahezu eigenständige, mehr oder minder abgeschlossene Einheiten auf. Dies bedingt eine ganze Reihe von Redundanzen für diejenigen, die sich durch die gesamte Studie arbeiten. Bei einer Komplettlektüre fällt zudem auf, dass die Untersuchung um eine recht überschaubare Zahl von Kernszenen kreist (insbesondere sind dies die Trauer-Darbietungen von Livius Salinator, Ser. Sulpicius Galba, Ti. Gracchus und Saturninus; der hartnäckige

Gebrauch des *squalor* durch die Meteller; der auch mithilfe symbolischer Kommunikation ausgetragene Konflikt zwischen Cicero und Clodius; die erste Deklamation aus dem 10. Controversien-Buch des älteren Seneca mit ihrer Diskussion über den *squalor* als Injurie; sowie schließlich die mehrfach scheiternde Abdankung des Vitellius). Diese Handlungskomplexe werden zwar immer wieder unter wechselnden Blickwinkeln in die Analyse einbezogen, aber kaum je für sich in Gänze durchinterpretiert. Um ein vollständiges Bild des Gehalts eines dieser Vorfälle zu gewinnen, ist man daher auf die Vor- und Rückverweise in den Fußnoten sowie auf das in seiner Differenziertheit allerdings vorbildliche Register angewiesen. Dieser beständige Zwang zum Blättern durch die einzelnen Kapitel und Unterkapitel des Buches ist wenig leserfreundlich und birgt zudem die Gefahr, den Argumentationsstrang zu sehr ausfasern zu lassen. Bezogen auf den *squalor* als historisches Phänomen ergibt sich nun folgendes Bild: Degelmann verortet die Anfänge des symbolischen Trauerns in der Zeit des Hannibalkrieges. Denn erst zu den Jahren ab ca. 200 v. Chr. flößen Berichte von symbolischen Trauerakten in größerer Zahl, während sich für das dritte Jahrhundert kaum Belege fänden. Zu Recht interpretiert Degelmann die bei Livius und Dionysios von Halikarnassos vorliegenden *squalor*-Erzählungen zur römischen Frühzeit als Rückprojektionen aus der späten Republik. Warum aber der Zweite Punische Krieg hinsichtlich des symbolischen Trauerns als Wasserscheide fungierte, wird leider nur knapp ausgeführt. Der Verweis auf einen „Wandel in der Führungsschicht“ und „neue Felder elitärer Profilierung und Konkurrenz“ (S. 48) bleibt zu sehr im Ungefähren. Geradezu inflationäres Ausmaß erreichte der *squalor* Degelmann zufolge in der Mitte des ersten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts (S. 241-248), habe mit der Etablierung des Principats aber rasch an Bedeutung verloren. Nur im Gerichtswesen lasse er sich über die Flavii hinaus verfolgen. Einleuchtend argumentiert der Verfasser, dass das augusteische System mit der Ausrichtung der relevanten Kommunikationsstränge auf den Princeps die Möglichkeiten für ‚politische‘ Trauerakte stark begrenzte. An deren Stelle seien zunehmend Bittakte gegenüber dem Herrscher getreten (S. 277-289). Ein Schwerpunkt der Studie liegt zu Recht auf der Frage nach den Funktionen und Kontexten eines *squalor*. Als Sitz im Leben des symbolischen Trauerns identifiziert Degelmann zutreffend inneraristokratische Konflikte. Er hebt zudem die Vielgestalt der Zielgruppen eines *squalor* hervor, der sich an senatorische Standesgenossen ebenso wie an einzelne Gruppen innerhalb der *plebs urbana* richten konnte (S. 57-67 et pass.). Voraussetzung für ein „Gelingen“ war Akzeptanz beim Publikum (S. 34); die hohe Zahl gescheiterter Trauerakte zeigt aber, dass diese Akzeptanz nicht leicht zu gewinnen war. Der *squalor* musste angemessen und authentisch erscheinen; und dies war vor allem dann der Fall, wenn der „Trauerakteur“ nicht im eigenen Namen handelte, sondern sich auf familiäre *pietas* oder Rachepflichten berief (S. 235-240). Als „Trauern zweiter Ordnung“ benötigte der *squalor* darüber hinaus einen Gegenpart, der als Verursacher des Leids benannt werden konnte. Als besonders wirkmächtig stellt der Verfasser in diesem Zusammenhang die *adsectatio* heraus, bei der sich der ostentativ Trauernde hartnäckig an die Fersen eines Kontrahenten heftete (S. 171-175). Diesem standen laut Degelmann drei Erwidierungsstrategien zur Verfügung: das Einlenken (kapitalisierbar als *clementia*), eine Injurienklage vor Gericht oder die gewaltsame Reaktion (S. 254-261). Tendenziell habe in den letzten Jahren der Republik die Wahrscheinlichkeit eines friedlichen Austrags abgenommen; ein zunächst gescheiterter *squalor* sei dann aber oftmals für die Legitimierung weiterer Schritte der Eskalation in Dienst genommen worden (S. 300 f.). So sehr diese Nachzeichnung der großen Linien einleuchtet, erscheint die Studie doch in einigen Punkten inkonsistent. So sieht Degelmann eine „Ritualisierung“ des *squalor* als erwartetes (und gefordertes) Verhalten von Angeklagten mal bereits in der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. erreicht (S. 132), mal

erst am Ende desselben Jahrhunderts (ebda.), an anderer Stelle wieder erst in cicero-nischer (S. 196) oder gar augusteischer Zeit (S. 276). Diese Unschärfe lässt eher darauf schließen, dass der Gerichts-*squalor* zu keiner Zeit ein so erstarrtes Ritual war, wie der Verfasser annimmt (S. 289). Überhaupt passt die Vorstellung eines solchen Gerinnungsprozesses nur bedingt zu der ansonsten klar dargelegten Flexibilität und Adaptabilität symbolischer Kommunikation. Fraglich ist zudem, in welchem Maß die Trauerakte tatsächlich als Gesten der Selbsterniedrigung zu deuten sind (S. 127). Weit wichtiger scheint ihre Markierungs- und Verweisfunktion zu sein; durch das Anlegen des Trauergewandes lenkte der bedrängte Aristokrat die öffentliche Wahrnehmung (zur Aufmerksamkeitsökonomie zutreffend S. 130-135) auf eine Statusdissonanz, die zu korrigieren im Interesse der gesamten *res publica* lag. Der *squalor* wurde in der Logik dieser Kommunikationsstrukturen nicht freiwillig genommen – er wurde dem Betroffenen ungerechtfertigt von seinen Gegnern auferlegt. Streckenweise kritisch zu sehen ist auch die Auseinandersetzung des Verfassers mit den römischen Rechtsquellen. Zum einen handelt es sich um Probleme beim Textverständnis (so ist in Dig. 47,10,39 *rei* wohl nicht Genitiv zu *res*, sondern zu *reus*, und der anschließende *ut*-Satz konsekutiv, nicht final aufzufassen, vgl. S. 255). Zum anderen werden die antiken Texte zu stark auf die Fragestellung hin gelesen. Die von Johannes Stroux als „Gerichtsreform“ benannte Rede des Claudius (BGU II 611) thematisierte den *squalor* zwar, zielte aber in erster Linie auf das Problem der Prozessverschleppung, insbesondere durch die Anklägerseite. Der Princeps stellte mit Bedauern fest, dass angesichts der womöglich überlangen Verfahrensdauer Angeklagte lieber auf das Trauergewand verzichteten, und wies mahndend darauf hin, man beuge sich damit eines probaten Mittels der Sympathiewerbung. Daraus kann man aber sicher nicht folgern: „der Princeps sah sich veranlasst, den *squalor* einzufordern, da dadurch [also durch dessen Verweigerung, C.R.-R.] Prozesse verschleppt würden“ (S. 276). Eine solche Lesung ist weder durch den Text des Papyrus gedeckt noch entspricht sie der vom Verfasser angeführten Deutung bei Stroux. Die Passage ist vielmehr ein Ausdruck der fatalen Neigung des Claudius, aus einer nostalgischen Haltung heraus sein Publikum belehren zu wollen. Nicht nachvollziehbar ist auch Degelmanns Behauptung, Cicero habe im *squalor* die Möglichkeit verloren, sich gegen die Kot- und Steinwürfe der Clodianer gerichtlich zu wehren (S. 259). Sein Trauergewand war Ausdruck des symbolischen Protestes gegen eine zu diesem Zeitpunkt drohende Anklage, die Einschränkungen eines *reus* trafen auf den Konsular aktuell also gar nicht zu. Ohne Zweifel waren Ciceros Handlungsmöglichkeiten zu diesem Zeitpunkt stark limitiert – aber nicht aufgrund juristischer, sondern politischer Faktoren. Ungenauer Umgang mit Quellen zeigt sich bei der Verarbeitung der Licinius Macer-Erzählung. Degelmann harmonisiert hier stillschweigend die tatsächlich deutlich voneinander abweichenden Überlieferungen bei Valerius Maximus und Plutarch. Zudem bezieht er den von Valerius Maximus (9,12,7) auf den Praetor Cicero angewendeten Ausdruck *praetextam ponere* (die Praetexta ablegen) irrtümlich auf Macer und missversteht ihn als Anlegen der (dem Praetorier zu diesem Zeitpunkt im übrigen gar nicht mehr zustehenden) Amtskleidung (S. 251). In der Gesamtbewertung bleibt festzuhalten, dass es der Verfasser verstanden hat, das Thema methodisch reflektiert und theoretisch gerüstet in einer Vielzahl von Facetten darzulegen. Deutlich arbeitet Degelmann die Bedingungen heraus, unter denen ein *squalor* zum Erfolg führen konnte – oder eben zumindest für den Augenblick scheiterte. Sein Buch trägt nicht zuletzt dazu bei, die unterschiedlichen Möglichkeiten kreativer Aneignung von Ritual-Bausteinen und die diesbezüglich große Gestaltungsmacht der historischen Akteure zu verdeutlichen. Zudem zeigt sich am Beispiel des symbolischen Trauerns eindrucksvoll, einen wie tiefen Einschnitt der Principat trotz aller Kontinuitäten für die Kommunikationsformen der Aristokratie letztlich doch darstellte.

Christian REITZENSTEIN-RONNING.

J. DEN BOEFT / J. W. DRIJVERS / D. DEN HENGST / H. C. TEITLER, *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XXXI*, Leiden / Boston, E. J. Brill, 2018, 24 × 16 cm, xxvi-357 p., 3 pl., 169 €, ISBN 978-90-04-35382-4.

Es müsste zwar nach dem Erscheinen des Kommentars zum 31. Buch der *Res gestae* des *Ammianus Marcellinus*, mit dem eine gut achtzigjährige Arbeit abgeschlossen wird, eine angemessene Würdigung des Gesamtwerkes für eine kaum zu überschätzende Leistung erfolgen. Da dies jedoch den Rahmen einer Rezension sprengen würde, bleibe es bei einer Beschränkung auf den Kommentar des 31. Buches der *Res gestae*. Da dieser Kommentar hinsichtlich des Aufbaus und der Gliederung nicht von den Prinzipien und Strukturen abweicht, die sich in den vorhergehenden Bänden genügend bewährt haben und auch schon gewürdigt worden sind, sei hier dazu nur aus der auf das Vorwort (*Preface* S. VII-VIII) folgenden Einleitung (*Introduction* S. IX-XVI) das angeführt, was sozusagen das Programm für die Kommentatoren darstellt: Diese Einleitung endet mit einer Zusammenfassung des Epilogs (S. XVI) und mit der Feststellung, dass es sich bei den *Res gestae* A.s [von hier an A. für Ammian] nicht nur um „a historical source [of] exceptional value“, sondern „also a literary work of art in its own right“ (S. XVI) handle, was für die Kommentatoren bedeute, es sei ihr Ziel „to provide the reader with the necessary background to form an opinion about Ammianus' version of the historical events of his time, to understand his often difficult language, and to appreciate his literary achievement“ (S. XVI). Ich meine, dass man kaum besser formulieren kann, was man von einem Kommentar zu A.s *Res gestae* beim heutigen Stand der A.forschung neben all dem, was Standard ist, erwarten darf, nämlich zu berücksichtigen, dass antike Historiographie immer auch künstlerisch gestaltete Literatur ist. Im Kapitel „Chronology“ (S. XVII-XXI) ist unter Berücksichtigung der modernen Forschung die Chronologie der Jahre 376-378 unter Einbeziehung der Geographie gut zusammengefasst. Im Hauptteil des Kommentars (S. 1-303) wird jedem der 16 Kapitel eine „Introduction“ vorangestellt und dann die Einzelkommentierung angeschlossen, gegliedert nach Paragraphen und gegebenenfalls nach Halbsätze enthaltenden Lemmata. Wenn man diese „introduction[s]“ hintereinander liest, dann erhält man eine hervorragende Kurzfassung der im 31. Buch dargestellten Ereignisse, wird zugleich eingeführt in die A. leitenden Kompositionsprinzipien und gegebenenfalls auch schon auf Kontroversen der modernen A.forschung hingewiesen. Wenn man danach noch einmal den gesamten Originaltext liest, dann wird einem einerseits bewusst, wieviel philologisch-historische Interpretation, wieviel Abstraktion und wieviel Konzentrierung zu leisten und aufzubringen waren, um ein solches „abstract“ aus A.s 31. Buch zu gewinnen, und andererseits erkennt man aber auch, und zwar vor allem aus der sich notwendigerweise ergebenden Diskrepanz zwischen diesen *summaries* und dem Originaltext, wie detailreich A.s Darstellung der Ereignisgeschichte ist und dass A.s Gewichtung und Bewertung bestimmter Ereignisse und Episoden für den heutigen Historiker manchmal nur schwer nachzuvollziehen sind, so dass man hinsichtlich des ersteren den Eindruck gewinnt, A. erschaffe eine ganz eigene neue Wirklichkeit, aus der nur in großen Zügen zu erschließen ist, wie es sich damals wirklich abgespielt hat, und hinsichtlich letzterem, dass eine wichtige Aufgabe eines heutigen Kommentators darin besteht, A.s Kommentierungen und Bewertungen historischer Ereignisse, sofern sie von A. nicht ausdrücklich als solche gekennzeichnet sind, aus den zahlreichen auktorialen „Zusätzen“ in den Erzählungen herauszulösen. Im Hauptteils des Kommentars (S. 1-303) werden in der von den vorhergehenden Kommentaren her bekannten und bewährten Weise die „Versprechungen“ aus der „Introduction“ (s.o.) eingelöst, wobei vor allem die klare und unprätentiöse Darstellungsweise und die Verwendung der traditionellen Terminologie hervorzuheben ist, zu deren Verständnis

nicht erst ein Zusatzstudium in moderner Literaturtheorie, Narratologie etc. nötig sind, nächst dem die stupende Kenntnis der Kommentatoren *quadriga* auf allen Gebieten der modernen A.forschung, woraus sich z.B. ergibt, dass alle im 31. Buch vorkommenden Probleme der Überlieferung des Textes erschöpfend behandelt sind (besonders hervorzuheben S. 279 Kommentar zu 31,16,2; S. 206/7 zu 31,12,8 *Thracia sola*), dass hinsichtlich der Ereignisgeschichte alle relevanten Quellen ausgewertet sind und hinsichtlich der Deutungsmöglichkeiten des A.textes alle wichtigen Aspekte einschließlich konkurrierender Theorien angegeben sind, wobei niemals zelotenhaft und jede andere Deutung ausschließlich kommentiert ist. Aus dieser Offenheit ergibt sich aber auch, dass auch nach diesem Kommentar sich speziell aus dem 31. Buch eine Reihe von Möglichkeiten ergibt, die Kommentierungen von den Boeft u.a. [von hier an d.B.] zu ergänzen, um andere Aspekte zu erweitern und manchmal vielleicht auch zu verändern, womit ich ganz konkret Folgendes meine: zu zeigen, wie A. seine neue „Wirklichkeit“ (s.o.) schafft, (a) durch eingehendere Analyse der sprachlichen Gestaltung (b) durch den Nachweis von topischen Elementen und Allusionen und (c) indem man A. umfangreicheren Gebrauch von *inuentio* nachweist, als das bisher geschehen ist. Dazu einige Beispiele aus dem 31. Buch: (1) S. 2f. (31,1,2) *resultabant canes ululantibus lupis*: Selbst wenn aus *ululantibus lupis* klar ist, dass das Geheul oder Gebell der Hunde in den Städten widerhallt, so „springen“ nicht die Hunde (von den Wänden) „zurück“. Hat hier A. Apul., *met.* 5,7,1 (*quoad crebris earum heulantibus saxa cautesque parilem sonum resultarent*) „umgedreht“ und dazu noch die Felsen (Wände) weggelassen? Oder ist es einfach ein Vergilianismus (Verg., *georg.* 1,485-486: *et altae / per noctem resonare lupis ululantibus urbes* [Stelle bei d.B. angeführt!]), wobei A. Vergil zu überbieten sucht, indem er neben die Wölfe auch die Hunde setzt und *resonabant* durch *resultabant* ersetzt? (2) S. 171 (31,10,13) Zunächst geht A.s Sprechweise *tenebrae nocturnae proelium occupare* weit über eine „normale“ Sprechweise hinaus (Wie soll man sich „die nächtliche Finsternis besetzte die Schlacht“ vorstellen?) und zwar auch über Ciceros *in illa caligine ac tenebris, quae totam rem publicam occupant* (Cic., *Verr.* 3,177 [„die Dunkelheit hatte den ganzen Staat besetzt“]). Außerdem scheint mir beides (Beginn der Schlacht erst am Mittag und Dauer bis in die Nacht hinein) topisch [Nachweise hoffe ich demnächst einmal liefern zu können. Der Hinweis auf A. 19,6,7 und 27,12,7 (S. 270) scheint mir nicht ausreichend, vielmehr den topischen Charakter geradezu zu bestätigen.] und einzig um der αἰξήσις und Dramatisierung willen gesetzt. (3) S. 74 (31,4,9) *Lupicinus ... et Maximus*, S. 121 (31,7,1) *Profuturum et Traianum*, S. 218 (31,12,16) *Bacurius Hiberus ... Cassio*, S. 166/7 (31,10,7) *Nannienus – Mallobaudes*: Man sollte zumindest damit rechnen, dass die Zweizahl topisch ist, besonders, wenn, wie bei *Profuturus* und *Traianus*, mit dem ebenfalls topischen Thema verbunden ist, dass der eine zum Kampf rät, der andere abrät, vgl. bei Liv. die Konsuln vor der Schlacht von *Cannae* oder die Beratungen vor der Schlacht von Straßburg (A. 16,12), oder wenn die Zweizahl mit *pari potestate* (z.B. S. 166 [31,10,6]) verbunden ist, wobei in diesem Falle die Alliteration hinzukommt und dieser Ausdruck bei A. einer der zahlreichen Livianismen ist und schon bei diesem so etwas wie Nostalgie republikanischer Zeiten. (4) In Buch 31 ist von einem Sturmangriff auf *Dibaltum* (31,8,9) und von drei (missglückten) Belagerungen von Städten die Rede (31,15 Hadrianopel; 31,16,3 Perinth; 31,16,4-7 Konstantinopel). Für die in Belagerungserzählungen vorkommenden Topoi, die auch bei A. zu finden sind, könnte man auf F. Urban, *Belagerungsschilderungen. Untersuchungen zu einem Topos der antiken Geschichtsschreibung*, Göttingen, 1966 verweisen (nicht im Literaturverzeichnis). (5) S. 188 (31,11,2) Die Zahl „dreihundert“ speziell für Heeresabteilungen, aber auch für sonstige Gruppen ist topisch [Vgl. A. 20,4,2 und zahlreiche weitere Beispiele, beginnend mit Herodots aus jeweils 300 Mann bestehenden Abteilungen der Argiver und der

Spartaner im Streit um *Thyrea* (Hdt. 1,82) über die 300 Spartaner des *Leonidas*, die dreihundert jungen Leute, die sich verschworen haben, *Porsenna* zu töten (Liv. 2,12,15), die dreihundert bei *Perusia* „Geopferten“ (Suet., *Aug.* 15), mehrere Beispiele aus den *bella* des Prokop (z.B. 3,2,15; 7,18,24 u.ö.) und endend mit den *trecento e più naufragi* in Claudio Magris, *L'infinito viaggiare*], womit sich erledigen würde, mit den *δισχίλιοι* des Zos. zurecht kommen zu wollen. (6) Die Ausführungen im Kommentar von d.B. zu dem Massaker an den Goten sind so umfangreich und ausführlich, dass man sich kaum vorstellen kann, dass hier noch Ergänzungen oder Annäherung von einem anderen Aspekt her möglich wäre: Und doch möchte ich zwei Punkte nicht unerwähnt lassen: Wenn es rein gotische Abteilungen des römischen Heeres gewesen sind, ist es vollkommen unwahrscheinlich, dass diese *alle* von Römern kommandiert wurden. Wenn das Verfahren (alle) *provinciae orientales* betraf, dann ist bei den damaligen Möglichkeiten der Nachrichtenübermittlung zu bezweifeln, dass das Verfahren reibungslos funktioniert hat. N.m.M. sind auch hier wieder mehrere topische Elemente enthalten: Ich verweise auf die Ermordung aller Römer in Kleinasien in 88 v.Chr. durch Mithradates; die Hinrichtung aller Sklaven, die als Soldaten unter Versprechung ihrer Freiheit im Heer des *Sextus Pompeius* gedient hatten, durch ihre Herren auf Anordnung des Octavian (*Augustus*), wobei A. speziell zu Appian *b.c.* 5,13,131 nicht zu übersehende Ähnlichkeiten aufweist; auf den Kindermord zu Bethlehem; Tac., *hist.* 4,64,2 (Gesandte der Tenkterer in Köln während des Bataveraufstandes *postulamus a uobis ... Romanos omnes in finibus uestris trucidetis*), die Bartholomäusnacht in Frankreich am 24. Aug. 1572. (7) S. 297-303 (31,16,9) ist n.m.M. eines der Glanzstücke dieses Kommentars und damit ein gelungener Abschluss des Hauptteiles. Es gibt deshalb kaum etwas, was man in einer Rezension noch hinzufügen könnte: S. 278 (Einleitung zu Chapter 16) „He presents himself with pride as a former officer“: „Officer“ ist aus *miles* nicht zu entnehmen. Ich vermute im übrigen, dass A. *miles* – womit er nicht exakt ist, wenn er zu den *protectores domestici* gehört hat – bewusst gesetzt hat, nämlich einerseits angeregt durch Xenophons οὔτε στρατηγὸς οὔτε λοχαγὸς οὔτε στρατιώτης ὢν (Xen., *anab.* 3,1,4) und andererseits, weil seine Leistung, die *Res gestae* geschrieben zu haben, noch mehr Gewicht erhält. Ich glaube nicht, dass man in einer Sprache, die keinen Artikel hat, wirklich beweisen kann, dass *quondam* Attribut nur zu *miles* ist, sondern ich meine, dass A., der vor allem im Hinblick auf Julian dem Thema der Romanisierung so viel Bedeutung beimisst, zu verstehen geben wollte, dass auch er jetzt durch sein Werk in lateinischer Sprache aus einem Griechen zu einem echten Römer geworden ist. Schließlich noch zwei Anmerkungen zu dieser Stelle: Die umfangreiche Kommentierung bei d.B. ist natürlich auch die Folge davon, dass diese Stelle in der modernen A.forschung so intensiv „beackert“ worden ist, und dies hat dazu geführt, dass wohl an keiner anderen Stelle der *Res gestae* eine solche „Dichte“ an Übernahmen, Umformungen von Topoi, Reminiszenzen und Anspielungen gefunden worden ist. Dennoch glaube ich, dass dem noch einiges hinzugefügt werden kann, was hier nur angedeutet werden kann, aber, wie ich hoffe, demnächst ausführlicher dargestellt werden kann: Da ist einmal die Frage, ob mit *maiores stili* wirklich die Panegyrik gemeint ist, womit dann auch die These – Straub hat daraus sogar ein Gesetz der Literatur gemacht (J. A. Straub, *Vom Herrscherideal in der Spätantike*, Darmstadt, 1964 [Unveränderter reprografischer Nachdruck der Ausgabe Stuttgart 1939], S. 153) –, der lebende Kaiser könne nicht in einem Geschichtswerk, sondern nur in einem Panegyrikus behandelt werden, hinfällig wäre. In diesem Zusammenhang müsste dann vor allem auch der Schluss des Panegyrikus des *Pacatus* auf *Theodosius I.* (anlässlich von dessen Rombesuch 389 n.Chr.) [*Pan. Lat.* 2(12),47] herangezogen werden, was, soweit ich sehe, bisher noch nicht geschehen ist. Und für die letzten Satz *scribant reliqua potiores aetate et doctrinis florentes. Quos id, si libuerit, aggressuros*



*procudere linguas ad maiores moneo stilos* sollte neben vielem anderen vor allem auch Vergils berühmtes *Excudent alii ...* (Verg., *Aen.* 6,847-850) herangezogen werden, das sicherlich auch wie bei A. kein Bescheidenheitstopos ist: A. hätte also Vergils „Prophezeiung“, dass auf anderen Gebieten durchaus Bessere auftreten können, dahingehend abgewandelt, dass diejenigen, die den Rest erledigen (auf seinem Gebiet), „besser“ (*potiores*) sein müssen und einen höheren Stil haben müssen, wobei in beidem keineswegs feststeht, dass es dies geben wird. Was also wie das „Vermächtnis“ an spätere Generationen aussieht, kann auch als Dokument des Selbstbewusstseins A.s gedeutet werden, und die Annahme, dass im Vergleich zur Geschichtsschreibung der Panegyrikus den *maior stilus* darstelle oder erfordere, ist n.m.M. bisher nicht bewiesen, und der Verzicht darauf, über die Gegenwart (und den lebenden Kaiser) zu schreiben, könnte auch andere Ursachen haben (Ich verweise auf M. Hose, *Intertextualität als hermeneutisches Instrument in spätantiker Literatur. Das Beispiel Ammianus Marcellinus*, in J. R. Stenger (ed.), *Spätantike Konzeptionen der Literatur*, Heidelberg, 2015, S. 81-96). Hermann KRAMER.

Fabiola DENGLER, *Non sum ego qui fueram. Funktionen des Ich in der römischen Elegie*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2017 (Philippika, 108), 24 × 17 cm, XII-234 p., 58 €, ISBN 978-3-447-10788-4.

La titre de cet ouvrage issu d'une thèse de doctorat soutenue à l'Université de Marburg suggère, au premier abord, que son auteure va aborder le thème, éternellement repris, de l'Ego élégiaque. En réalité, l'objectif poursuivi est bien différent, puisque seuls sont examinés certains poèmes de Propertius et de Tibulle – à savoir, pour les premiers, les élégies 1.3, 1.7, 1.21, 1.22, 2.1, 2.34, 3.2, 3.24, 3.25, 4.7 et 4.11, et pour le second, les élégies 1.1, 1.8, 2.2 et 2.6. F. Dengler ne justifie pas explicitement ce choix, dont on notera pour l'anecdote qu'il aboutit à ne réserver aucun commentaire à la formule propertienne *non sum ego qui fueram* (1.12.11) ; tout au plus remarquera-t-on que, pour ce qui concerne Propertius, l'élégie ou les deux élégies qui clôture(nt) chaque livre a/ont été privilégiée(s). L'auteure prend ainsi en compte une gamme de phénomènes hétéroclites, puisque le « moi » qu'elle entend étudier se confond tantôt avec la voix de l'Ego élégiaque, tantôt avec celle d'un sujet (masculin ou féminin) qu'Ego fait parler, quitte à ne laisser aucune trace discursive de sa propre présence, comme cela se passe dans les élégies 1.21 et 4.11 de Propertius. Pour traiter de données aussi diverses, qui vont de l'expression directe jusqu'à la citation et à la mise en scène de l'énonciation, il fallait se pourvoir d'un appareil théorique robuste joint à un souci constant du détail textuel, ce que l'auteure n'a malheureusement pas fait. Le *Thesaurus criticus* de Smyth ne figure pas dans la bibliographie et, contrairement à ce qu'affirme F. Dengler (p. 2, 122-123, n. 6), l'ouvrage n'analyse pas de façon systématique, ou ne discute même pas du tout, les passages notoirement problématiques qui parsèment le corpus examiné (pour les seuls livres 1 et 2 de Propertius, on mentionnera notamment 1.3.37-38, 1.7.16, 2.1.37-38, 2.1.58, 2.34.31, 2.34.93-94, sans compter les élégies 1.21 et 1.22 tout entières). Deux exemples suffisent à montrer les risques d'une telle démarche. En Prop. 2.34.83-84, l'auteure (p. 88-89) opte pour *nec minor his animis aut sim minor ore canorus / anseris indocto carmine cessit olor*, qu'elle traduit par « Und nicht bin ich wegen dieser (Lieder) niedriger im Geiste oder in der Stimme weniger tönend; der Schwan wich auf dem Feld des ungebildeten Liedes der Gans ». On cherche en vain la moindre élucidation sur l'emploi du subjonctif (« bin ich »), sur *minor* (adverbial ?) qui modifierait *canorus* (« weniger tönend ») et sur le sens que revêtirait l'éventuelle retraite symbolique que le cygne aurait à subir sur le terrain (« Feld ») que constituerait le chant grossier de l'oie. À propos de l'ablatif *indocto carmine*, l'auteure écrit (p. 89, n. 154) que « Stahls Trennung



*in in docto* ist – wenn auch inhaltlich nett – sprachlich anstößig, wie auch Fedeli darlegt ». Mais si Fedeli ne retient pas *in docto* (déjà imprimé par Volscus en 1482), ce n'est pas pour une raison linguistique – un tel usage de *in* est parfaitement correct (voir *ThLL* 3.0.729.31-730.18) –, mais bien parce qu'il retient le *hic* de Korsch et Housman afin d'interpréter *indocto carmine* comme un ablatif dépendant du premier *minor*, là où La Penna, quant à lui, décelait un ablatif de cause. En réalité, l'obstacle majeur qui s'oppose à la lecture de Stahl, comme à celle de l'auteure, réside dans l'absence d'un datif dépendant de *cessit*. Personnellement, je tendrais à imprimer *nec minus his animi est aut, si minor ore, canorus / anseribus docto carmine cessit olor* ; si l'on reconnaît dans *cessit* un parfait gnomique et que l'on confère à *canorus* une valeur prédicative au lieu d'y voir une simple épithète ornementale, on obtient une phraséologie qui démarque Verg. *B.* 9.35-36 tout en inversant les nombres grammaticaux (« Il n'y a pas moins de souffle dans ces chants et, s'il parle d'une bouche moins vaste, le cygne, avec sa voix mélodieuse, n'a jamais cédé devant les oies au moment de composer un poème savant ») ; Ovide a pu imiter le distique en *M.* 2.537-539 (*ut aequaret [ales] totas sine labe columbas / nec seruaturis uigili Capitolia uoce / cederet anseribus nec amanti flumina cygno*). La substitution de *minor* à *minus* par anticipation, la corruption de *animi est* (Phillimore) en *animis*, la dittographie produisant *sim* à partir de *si* (ç) devant *minor*, sont des plus vraisemblables paléographiquement, et le passage de *anseribus* à *anseris in(-)* peut s'expliquer par l'influence de l'abréviation *anserib*. De même, à propos du vers 4.7.79-80, F. Dengler (p. 134, n. 80) aurait dû s'intéresser de plus près au débat qui oppose les défenseurs de *pelle* (transmis par la tradition) à ceux qui corrigent cette forme en *pone* (Sandbach). En effet, le texte adopté là se révèle crucial pour la signification profonde de tout le poème : Cynthie, qui compose elle-même son épitaphe (vers 83-86), refuse-t-elle ou demande-t-elle que Propertius la chante encore ? Mais, auparavant, l'auteure (p. 104) ne s'est pas davantage interrogée sur les deux lectures qui peuvent être faites du vers 3.24.4 (*uersibus insignem te pudet esse meis*) : dans l'une, *pudet* régit un *me* sous-entendu, de sorte que *te* n'est que sujet de la proposition infinitive ; dans l'autre, *te* est à la fois régi par *pudet* et sujet implicite de la proposition infinitive. De toute évidence, la seconde analyse, qui paraît plus conforme à l'usage, préfigure ce que Cynthie proclame aux vers 4.7.79-80 avec non seulement *pelle*, mais aussi *pugnante corymbo* et l'indicatif *alligat*, pour autant que l'expression *laudes habere meas* se comprenne avec le sens de « m'adresser des louanges », ce qu'autorisent divers passages parallèles (voir le commentaire d'Éric Coutelle, Bruxelles, 2015, *ad loc.*). Une autre insuffisance majeure de ce livre réside dans son mode d'exposition. Oubliant le vieil avertissement de Jakobson sur le danger que l'on court à aborder les textes poétiques comme des « chaînes de Markov », F. Dengler divise d'entrée de jeu chaque pièce en parties successives et projette ce format étroitement scolaire sur l'ensemble de son travail, en alignant des résumés ou synthèses provisoires qui ne peuvent que négliger des traits essentiels pour l'interprétation. L'auteure (p. 158, n. 5) se montre consciente de ce que l'écriture tibullienne, où le texte progresse par des glissements associatifs, se prête difficilement à un découpage préalable ; mais il y a plus : comme l'a montré G. Lee dans un article qui n'est malheureusement pas cité (*Otium cum indignitate: Tibullus 1. 1*, in T. Woodman / D. West (ed.), *Quality and Pleasure in Latin Poetry*, Cambridge, 1974, p. 94-114), Tibulle mobilise la technicité du lexique afin d'anticiper ce qui apparaîtrait, sinon, comme des sauts gratuits et incongrus. Chez Propertius, en revanche, les reprises de termes similaires ou apparentés à des distances parfois considérables favorisent des processus d'assimilation qu'une lecture essentiellement linéaire échoue à mettre en relief. Pour contrebalancer ce défaut de méthode, il aurait été opportun de cerner, dès l'abord, les problématiques générales et les présupposés d'ensemble qui ont guidé l'analyse, en

assumant des décisions éventuellement incompatibles avec les vues avancées par d'autres auteurs. Le premier poème étudié, l'élégie 1.3 de Propertius, en fournit l'illustration. F. Dengler (p. 25) relève que, dans ce texte, la présence symbolique de Bacchus ne se cantonne pas aux vers 5-6 ; c'est l'évidence, mais deux implications, qu'elle ne signale pas, découlent de la donnée référentielle que constitue le fait qu'Ego soit pris de boisson : d'une part, l'ivresse, si elle lève les inhibitions, conduit souvent le sujet mâle à faire long feu (voir les vers 13-14) ; d'autre part, l'altération des états mentaux ainsi produite aboutit à une imbrication extrême des points de vue. La première de ces implications ne pèsera guère aux yeux des commentateurs (tels Lyne ou Stahl) qui se refusent à déceler la moindre obscénité implicite dans l'élégie 1.3 (voir, en particulier, les débats sur les vers 15-16, dont l'auteure ne souffle mot). Mais si l'on opte pour la conclusion inverse, l'emploi de *languida* et *languidus* aux vers 2 et 38 ne se borne pas à créer une ambiance érotique (p. 20, n. 19, 31, n. 75) ; l'infortune finale d'un Ego habité par un désir qui n'aboutit pas vient répondre à la lascivité dont le regard voyeuriste dote la posture pathétique d'Ariane. Ce mélange de réciprocité et de contraste s'observe d'autant plus fréquemment qu'il se trouve favorisé par la concurrence, voire la confusion, des points de vue – ceux d'Ego, lucide ou berné par l'ivresse ; ceux de Cynthia, qu'elle les entretienne elle-même ou qu'ils soient fantasmés par Ego comme véhiculant des contenus factuels ou oniriques. À propos du vers 24 (*nunc furtiva cauis poma dabam manibus*), l'auteure écrit (p. 29, n. 65) : « Zu *cavis manibus* gibt es Diskussionen, ob das Ich der Geliebten die Geschenke in die Hand oder aus der Hand gibt. Wahrscheinlicher ist, dass das Ich versucht, den Apfel in die Hand zu legen, da es schlicht wenig Sinn macht, ihr alle Geschenke immer wieder auf den Busen zu legen ». Outre que l'ablatif *cauis manibus* désignant les mains du donneur peut posséder une valeur instrumentale et non pas locative, on ne voit guère en quoi le geste qu'accomplirait Ego dans cette éventualité devrait nécessairement avoir pour but de placer les *poma* sur la poitrine de Cynthia. La difficulté se situe ailleurs, puisqu'on a lu, au vers 8 : *Cynthia non certis nixa caput manibus*. Plutôt que d'imputer à Propertius un simple oubli, comme le suggérerait Shackleton Bailey, il vaut mieux supposer que les vers 21-30, où le discours passe brutalement à la seconde personne, ne décrivent pas des actes effectivement accomplis par Ego, mais évoquent métaphoriquement les approches et les caresses auxquelles rêve son esprit embrumé par l'ivresse ; *furtiva* fait songer à des jeux érotiques et l'on conçoit sans peine ce que sont les *poma* que les mains de Cynthia auraient à accueillir. Cette hypothèse permet de comprendre le caractère abrupt que revêt, aux vers 31-34, le retour à la troisième personne, ainsi que l'étrange vers 30 : si Ego imagine qu'il va pénétrer Cynthia pendant son sommeil, il peut supposer qu'elle croie, de son côté, qu'un inconnu entreprend de la violer. F. Dengler (p. 28-30) ne prête aucune attention à ce jeu des personnes grammaticales, et n'hésite donc pas à traiter les vers 21-34 comme un bloc homogène. Quant à la qualification *non certis* du vers 8, elle reflèterait, selon l'auteure (p. 23), l'insécurité et la dépendance qui affecteraient Cynthia. Mais l'ensemble du poème montre que le point de vue dont procède cette notation est de nouveau celui, subjectif et factuellement erroné, du seul Ego. De surcroît, on retrouve ici la réciprocité à laquelle j'ai déjà fait allusion. Comme en 2.29, Ego rentre chez lui en compagnie d'esclaves (*pueri*) que son état lui fait confondre avec des Amours ; pour sa conscience d'ivrogne, les mains de Cynthia sont « incertaines » alors que, dans la réalité, cette « incertitude » affecte son propre pas (*ebria [...] uestigia*, vers 9-10). De même, le fantasme des vers 24-26 rappelle le poème 65 de Catulle où Ego se compare à une jeune fille qui laisse échapper une pomme, symbole d'amour, de sa tunique. La logique d'écriture que l'on découvre ainsi à l'œuvre s'étend à d'autres entités : aux vers 31-32, la lune émet des rayons (*luminibus*) analogues aux multiples yeux d'Argus (vers 20). Pour créer une continuité entre les poèmes

qu'elle commente, F. Dengler survole chaque fois en quelques paragraphes l'ensemble des élégies que son approche analytique la contraint à négliger. Cette démarche, qui relève plus d'une anthologisation simplificatrice que d'une recherche scientifique, la conduit parfois à livrer des développements étrangers à son objet et non dénués d'erreurs. Aux p. 56-58, qui suivent les pages consacrées aux élégies 1.21 et 1.22, l'auteure discute le rapport que Properce, et accessoirement Tibulle, pouvaient entretenir avec l'augustéisme. La question, on le sait, est des plus complexes et des plus controversées ; mais nous avons droit à ce raccourci : « Im Gegensatz zu der nur wenige Jahre älteren Dichtergeneration um Horaz und Vergil, [...] wenden sich sowohl Properz als auch Tibull vehement gegen Kriege » (p. 57). Faire de Properce, et plus encore de Tibulle, des « pacifistes » au sens moderne du mot est une absurdité qui ne peut que donner du grain à moudre à ceux qui plaident, par un excès contraire, pour la thèse d'après laquelle l'un et l'autre se seraient ralliés sans réserves ni nuances au programme augustéen. Le livre se termine, avant un index squelettique, par une bibliographie dont les oublis et les incohérences confirment le caractère inachevé du travail. L'auteure cite Ennius d'après Vahlen. Les quatre volumes de Camps, comme la monographie de M. Hubbard (1974) dont les jugements négatifs sur le Livre 3 de Properce méritaient d'être discutés, figurent parmi les éditions ; mais l'édition de Viarre (CUF) et les volumes de Fedeli (1965, 1980, 1985, 2005) parmi la littérature secondaire. La typographie des guillemets fermants est anarchique, Shackleton Bailey est systématiquement appelé « Schakelton Bailey » et ses contributions rangées à la lettre « B », etc.

Marc DOMINICY.

Manuel DE SOUZA (ed.), *Les collines dans la représentation et l'organisation du pouvoir à Rome*, Bordeaux, Ausonius (diff. de Boccard, Paris), 2017 (Scripta Antiqua, 108), 24 × 17 cm, 197 p., fig., 25 €, ISBN 978-2-35613-201-7.

Los estudios sobre la topografía de Roma se han revelado como un instrumento de primera importancia para una mejor comprensión de la historia de la ciudad, especialmente en sus aspectos ideológicos. Sin necesidad de remontarse a los grandes tratados del siglo XIX y de comienzos del siguiente, las monografías que en las últimas décadas ha consagrado F. Coarelli a diferentes regiones romanas, así como el *Lexicon topographicum* coordinado por E. M. Steinby, representan destacadas aportaciones al desarrollo de esta perspectiva de estudio. Siguiendo la misma línea, el presente volumen proporciona un conjunto de contribuciones en torno al significado de las colinas como símbolo de poder. La formulación del tema es acertada, en cuanto que una situación de altura tradicionalmente es considerada expresión del poder. Sin embargo, en Roma no siempre fue así. Con la definición de la *ciuitas* y del concepto de ciudadano se instala un nuevo planteamiento topográfico que reserva el Capitolio como sede del poder religioso, materializado en el templo de Júpiter como divinidad poliádica, mientras que los centros de decisión política se desplazan al valle del Foro, es decir a una zona baja. La recuperación de la altura como centro de poder comienza a observarse a finales de la República, alcanzado su pleno desarrollo en el Imperio. Esta idea general se expresa en el presente libro, que en los nueve trabajos que contiene, contempla diversos aspectos desde la época arcaica hasta el bajo Imperio. En primer lugar, D. Palombi ofrece un minucioso y documentado análisis sobre la festividad arcaica de los *Argei*, tanto en su perspectiva topográfica como la religiosa ("*Sacra Argeorum*. Rituel et espace urbain", p. 15-47). El autor destaca el testimonio de Varrón, derivado de los *libri Pontificum*, y de forma convincente sugiere que en total había veintisiete *sacra*, sin relación con las llamadas regiones servianas, pero sobre un territorio que se identifica con la Roma de Servio. Palombi reconoce la imposibilidad de identificar la localización de los santuarios, salvo aproximadamente aquellos

señalados por Varrón, dadas las carencias en la documentación arqueológica y epigráfica. Por otra parte, también introduce al lector en los pormenores rituales de una fiesta, caracterizada como *publica* pero no *pro populo*. Interesante resulta la discusión sobre las procesiones, cuyo único dato cierto es la localización de término en el *pons Sublicius*, siendo plenamente aceptable la idea de la existencia de procesiones diferentes en cada región y su confluencia en el Foro. Y. Berthelet discute un célebre artículo de F. Coarelli acerca de los *auguracula* de la *Arx* y del Quirinal y su relación con las asambleas comiciales (“*Auguracula* et auspices pré-comitiaux : une articulation à déconstruire”, p. 49-60). El autor, gran conocedor de estos temas como revela su monografía sobre los auspicios del magistrado, llama la atención sobre la necesidad de diferenciar claramente entre la adivinación augural y la adivinación auspicial. En un detallado discurso sobre la *auspicatio* comicial y sus características topográficas, Berthelet concluye que los únicos auspicios tomados desde los *auguracula* son los de entrada en el cargo y los de partida, reafirmando la interpretación tradicional (ya expresada por T. Mommsen) de que los auspicios comiciales se tomaban en el mismo lugar donde se celebraban las asambleas. Igualmente atractiva es la contribución de M. de Souza, donde analiza la elección del monte Sacro en la primera secesión de la plebe en el año 494 a.C. (“Interrogations autour d’un mont Sacré sur le parcours des deux premières sécessions de la plèbe”, p. 61-81). En su opinión, la tradición sobre el monte Sacro es coherente con la idea de que el nacimiento político de la plebe adopta una forma religiosa que se impone a la ciudad, y en efecto así fue, ya que el lugar ofrece un rico simbolismo. El análisis topográfico conduce a de Souza a introducir interesantes observaciones acerca de la *sacrosanctitas* del tribuno, de manera que sobrepasa esta perspectiva topográfica para sumergirse en la historia del primitivo tribunado. En la segunda secesión, el año 449, el Aventino pasa a ocupar el centro y con la inmediata ley Valerio-Horacia la figura del tribuno adquiere nuevas connotaciones. El Aventino es también objeto del trabajo presentado por J. Primm, si bien desde un punto de vista por completo diferente (“De l’Aventin aux sept collines de Rome : la mémoire des collines comme enjeu de pouvoir entre la fin de la République et le début du Principat”, p. 83-98). Se adopta como punto de partida la construcción artificial de Varrón sobre las “siete colinas”, con la inclusión del Aventino. Esta colina experimenta en el siglo II a.C. una cierta revalorización, donde no está ausente una influencia política (por ejemplo, la localización en el Aventino de la primera secesión de la plebe, producto de una tradición *popularis*), alcanzando un momento destacado con la representación de Roma ofrecida por Augusto. En este punto Primm retoma una antigua interpretación, basada en las *Res gestae*, que resaltaba el interés de Augusto por instituir sobre el Aventino una réplica de la tríada capitolina, una visión que no se entiende con claridad. Por otra parte, se nota una ausencia que podría tener importancia en la perspectiva de Augusto sobre la colina: me refiero a la leyenda de Caco, un héroe degradado que fue trasladado del Palatino al Aventino, donde reviste sus connotaciones más negativas. El Esquilino centra la atención de C. Chillet (“L’Esquilin, l’autre colline du pouvoir à la fin de la République”, p. 99-113). Este monte alcanza una posición como centro de poder bajo Nerón, pero en el último siglo republicano se percibe una actividad sobre el mismo que anuncia su futuro. Tras una fase “pompeyana”, la zona se transforma a partir de la década de los 40 para convertirse en un área cesariano-augustea. En este proceso Mecenas interpreta un papel muy destacado, atrayendo a sus *horti* a algunos de los poetas más significativos de la época. El cambio de perfil político se acompaña de una intensa actividad urbanística, en gran parte a iniciativa del propio Mecenas, que conlleva una dignificación de la zona, con la eliminación de las escombreras y otros elementos residuales y el alejamiento de las actividades artesanales. En unas páginas muy sugestivas V. Jolivet traza la historia de la relación entre el Pincio y la zona llana situada a sus pies (“Collines et plaine

dans la Rome Antique : l'exemple du Pincio et du Champ de Mars", p. 115-126). El lugar elegido como testigo se identifica con los antiguos *horti* de Lúculo, que posteriormente pasaron a ser propiedad de Valerio Messala Corvino (cos, 31 a.C.), quien lleva a cabo determinadas transformaciones en función del área central y septentrional del Campo de Marte reordenada por Augusto. El siguiente propietario de los *horti*, Valerio Asiático (cos. ord. 46 d.C.) lleva a cabo la construcción del ninfeo-teatro del área de Trinità dei Monti. Por último, el autor destaca la importancia de la colina en el bajo Imperio con la construcción de la *domus pinciana*, que pasa a ser palacio imperial. La contribución de O. Devillers tiene un carácter más historiográfico que topográfico ("L'incendie du Caelius dans les *Annales* de Tacite (4.64-65)", p. 127-133). Trata sobre el incendio que se produjo en el Celio durante el gobierno de Tiberio, una catástrofe simultánea a la que sucedió en Fidenae, donde se hundió el anfiteatro. La comparación entre ambos hechos y la respuesta del poder, sirve de motivo para contrastar el tradicional proceder republicano – fueron los senadores quienes auxiliaron a las víctimas de Fidenae – frente a la *munificentia* del emperador, que acudió en ayuda de los damnificados del Celio. De ahí la propuesta planteada en el Senado de rebautizar el monte con el nombre de *Augustus*. Esto último da pie a tratar sobre el episodio de Claudia Quinta y del origen del topónimo del monte Celio, así llamado en la época monárquica en honor del etrusco Celio Vibenna. A continuación, Y. Perrin dirige la atención hacia la Roma de Nerón ("Topographie et politique : Néron et les collines de Rome", p. 137-148). La actividad urbanística y arquitectónica del emperador se centra fundamentalmente en tres colinas, la Velia, el Palatino y el Esquilino. En la primera, la antigua casa de los Domicios se transforma en la *Domus Transitoria*, expresión de un reconocimiento a la propia familia del emperador y que sirve para unir el Palatino y el Esquilino. Respecto al Palatino, Perrin reformula la idea sobre la *Domus Tiberiana*, de propiedad imperial, con el objetivo de separar los asuntos públicos de los privados, de forma que estos últimos son desplazados al Esquilino. Aquí se construye la *Domus Aurea*, residencia del emperador y a la vez concebida como un área de poder según los criterios helenísticos: la erección del coloso en su epicentro refleja perfectamente la imagen de poder del *princeps*. El volumen se cierra con la contribución de F. Garambois-Vasquez ("Les collines dans deux récits d'*aduentus* d'Ammien Marcellin et de Claudien", p. 149-157). En su carácter militar, el *aduentus* era un ceremonial en celebración de una victoria, con un significado similar al del triunfo en sus orígenes: el triunfador, en este caso el emperador, se presenta como nexo entre la comunidad y los dioses. Pero entre ambos rituales hay diferencias notables. El *aduentus* no estaba vinculado a Roma y con la cristianización del Imperio sustituye definitivamente al triunfo, ya que el emperador cristiano no podía rendir pleitesía a Júpiter. En los relatos de Amiano Marcelino y Claudio Claudiano, respectivamente sobre los *aduentus* de Constancio II y de Honorio, se observan ciertos aspectos ideológicos, muy crítico el primero hacia la actitud altiva del emperador, el segundo con nostalgias de tradición republicana. A la vez se destacan los elementos topográficos del triunfo tradicional, obviados por los emperadores cristianos, especialmente el Capitolio, pero que en opinión de estos autores justifican la base del poder imperial.

Jorge MARTÍNEZ-PINNA.

Basil DUFALLO (ed.), *Roman Error: Classical Reception and the Problem of Rome's Flaws*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2018 (Classical Presences), 22,5 × 14 cm, xii-284 p., fig., 65 £, ISBN 978-0-19-880303-4.

Ce livre, né d'une conférence tenue à l'Université du Michigan en septembre 2013, est subtil. Dès l'*incipit*, son éditeur, Basil Dufallo, pose d'emblée la question: « What draws us, time and again, to the Romans' worst failings ? ». La réponse est à la fois

simple et complexe : nous ne connaissons Rome qu'à travers la réception que nous en avons. Or toute réception est forcément *error*, filtre, subjectivité, donc source potentielle d'erreurs. Mais en même temps, nous savons que toute créativité passe par l'erreur, et sa *felix culpa* : A. Fleming découvre la pénicilline par erreur, et c'est à la suite d'une malheureuse manipulation que les demoiselles Tatin inventent leur recette... Donc, un bien peut émerger d'un mal apparent : « the reception of Rome's missteps and mistakes, in other words, has historically been far more complex than simply denouncing or condemning them » (p. 2). Dans les onze chapitres du livre, toutes les disciplines sont convoquées pour nous le montrer : l'histoire, l'histoire de l'art, la littérature, la philosophie, la psychanalyse vont nous dire que, à travers les formes de la relation (la tyrannie, l'esclavage, la sexualité, l'amitié), l'Autre est toujours soumis aux prismes du regard, individuel ou social. Loin d'être un patchwork, tous ces articles, très divers dans leurs références, mettent en évidence la problématique mise en exergue par B. Dufallo. Nous repérons volontiers trois constantes qui peuvent servir de « fil rouge » à ces onze exposés : 1) Nous sommes dans un processus de réception qui est donc, par sa nature même et par le décalage des points de vue, *error* ; 2) La lecture croisée entre l'Antiquité et son observateur met en évidence une constante mutation, un dynamisme fécond des métamorphoses, sur la base d'un schéma qui repose le plus souvent sur le contraste et l'opposition, et plus précisément sur le contrepoint : « voici ce qu'il ne faut pas faire » ; 3) La problématique générale prend la forme fantasmée d'une décadence, assumée souvent comme une régénération potentielle. L'éloge de l'erreur, et de sa productivité, nous le trouvons dans les chapitres 1 (C. Vout, « The Error of Roman Aesthetics », p. 36 : « Just as the artist can never get it right, nor can the viewer of art get it right, for getting it right is not what art does or enables »), les chapitres 2 et 3 (M. Bizer, « Whose mistake? The Errors of Friendship in Cicero, La Boétie and Montaigne », et C. Williams, « Friends, Romans, Errors: Moments in the Reception of *amicitia* » : l'*amicitia* serait autre chose que la « vraie » amitié, plutôt un rapport social, une alliance politique ou un rapport patron-client – quelque chose d'utilitaire), mais aussi dans le chapitre 6 (C. Edwards, « The Romance of Roman Error: Encountering Antiquity in Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun* »). La façon dont la conception romaine de la tyrannie, et de l'esclavage, sert de contrepoint, mais fait aussi avancer le débat, et la société, est clairement établie dans les travaux historiques de J. Connolly (chap. 4 : « Past Sovereignty: Roman Freedom for Modern Revolutionaries ») et M. Malamud (chap. 5 : « Receptions of Rome in Debates on Slavery in the USA »). Le chap. 8 (M. Lowrie / B. Vinken, « Correcting Rome with Rome: Victor Hugo's *Quatre vingt-treize* ») convoque, lui, à la fois la littérature et la politique : pour Hugo, Rome, bien qu'offrant un mauvais modèle politique, doit être prise en considération par rapport à nos propres problématiques. Rome doit puiser dans ses forces, y compris les forces négatives, ce qui lui permettra de dépasser ses défauts. Ce mélange d'ombre et de lumière (auquel Hugo est si sensible), juxtaposant de façon baroque, dans la *Res Publica* puis dans l'Empire romain, le grotesque et le sublime, la pesanteur et la grâce, cette *ciuitas permixta* à la manière augustinienne, doit rester dans la mémoire collective, car le clair-obscur n'est pas seulement une esthétique, mais aussi un point de vue politique : la république idéale doit toujours se battre avec la réalité politique de la guerre civile. Et, ajouterons-nous, la démocratie est un édifice sans cesse fragile et menacé, qui se construit comme une émergence : un bien (la démocratie) qui concilie l'ordre et le désordre, deux instances constitutives pouvant à chaque instant s'inverser en deux perversions politiques : la tyrannie, comme *error* par excès d'ordre et l'anarchie, comme *error* par excès de désordre. Après les Grecs, les Romains, dans leur souci de séparation des pouvoirs, l'avaient bien compris. Le texte de M. Formisano (chap. 7 : « "Im Sinne der Antike": Masochism and Roman Error in *Venus in Furs* »)



aborde la problématique de la décadence, toujours sur le thème du contrepied. Là aussi, les figures du contraste et de l'analogie jouent à plein, et sont les moteurs de la dynamique du récit. Par certains traits, la *Venus in Pelz* de Sacher-Masoch évoque le *De Rerum Natura* de Lucrèce : même subversion, même transgression de la culture officielle. Dans les deux textes, Vénus est le porte-parole du nouveau message : elle représente une nouvelle puissance créatrice, capable de déstabiliser les paradigmes traditionnels. Mais la Vénus de Lucrèce représente la victoire de la paix sur la guerre, alors que Wanda, la Vénus à la fourrure (cet accessoire qui évoque, en arrière-plan, la violence animale), est une amazone guerrière, dans un système où l'homme ne peut être que le tyran ou l'esclave de la femme. Quant à Séverin (porte-parole de Sacher-Masoch ?), il est victime, comme le remarque finement M. Formisano, du complexe de Pygmalion : malgré sa répulsion pour les femmes (sans doute à cause de l'immoralité des femmes de Chypre), Pygmalion tombe amoureux de la statue de marbre qu'il a lui-même créée. Ce sont son art et sa créativité qui provoquent sa libido. De même, Séverin, célibataire et misogyne, est épris d'une statue de Vénus qu'il a vue dans un parc. Un jour, il rencontre Wanda qui, dans sa beauté glaciale, ressemble à la statue, et il en tombe amoureux. La dernière partie de l'article est fort intéressante. Elle montre comment, après ces ressemblances entre antiquité et modernité, *Venus in Pelz* peut être lu comme un renversement, *a reversal*, de *L'Âne d'Or* d'Apulée : Isis restaure l'humanité de Lucius, alors que Vénus-Wanda transforme Séverin en bête, en âne. L'aventure masochiste, à la fois comme expérience sexuelle et dans sa dimension esthétique, a besoin de se poser en s'opposant, et en prenant le contrepoin d'une Antiquité fantasmée. En même temps, elle s'accorde avec l'esthétique fin-de-siècle des Décadents. Cette problématique, au cœur de la littérature « fin-de-siècle », est prolongée par l'étude de J. C. Rowe (chap. 9 : « The Roman Aura in Henry James's *Daisy Miller: A Study* ») montrant comment le livre de James « offers an intriguing example of how nineteenth century Anglo-American writers engaged in arguments – whether explicit or implicit – over the decline and fall of the Roman Empire and the best means of using Rome's example as a warning to their contemporaries » (p. 191). Sur le même mode, pour M. Wyke (chap. 10 : « The Pleasures and Punishments of Roman Error: Emperor Elagabalus at the Court of Early Cinema »), le film français *L'Orgie romaine* (1911, qui nous donne à voir une Rome fantasmée à travers la figure d'Élagabal, l'extravagance personnifiée en empereur) peut avoir une visée thérapeutique, toujours par contrepoint (« voici ce qu'il ne faut pas faire ») : dans un moment de malaise et de crise politique, on est fondé à y voir une aide aux discours sur le déclin national français, et sur la nécessité d'un sursaut et d'un renouveau. *Last but not least*, le chap. 11 de R. Flechter (« *Psychic Life in the Eternal City: Julia Kristeva and the Narcissism of Rome* ») revient à la psychanalyse : par-delà, d'une part, l'interprétation de E. Zinn, qui voit dans la personne d'Ovide l'incarnation d'un « optimistic assessment of both the material and spiritual culture of his own time », et dans son œuvre « a contentment in civilization, *Behagen in der Kultur* », et d'autre part celle, pessimiste, de F. Ankersmit, qui parle au contraire de l'erreur narcissique de Rome, et d'une autosatisfaction qui la conduit à s'aveugler sur ses échecs, R. Flechter souligne que « both of these readings of Ovid engage with psychoanalysis. Zinn makes the direct opposition to Freud's *Civilization and its Discontents*, while Ankersmit indirectly replicates the errors of Rome and its reception through the figure of Narcissus via a general psychoanalytic theory of narcissism » (p. 235). Il préfère choisir une voie médiane, un *tertium non inclusum*, une forme d'émergence, celle que proposent E. Oliensis et J. Kristeva, chacune dans son domaine : ainsi, « the positions of Zinn and Ankersmit can be reconciled through a focus on the ambivalent pleasures and dangers of narcissism. In other words, the same analogy can work as nostalgia for Rome and proof of its error »



(p. 253). La conclusion de R. Fletcher, inspirée de la *Séméiotikê* de J. Kristeva (le texte littéraire surgit du champ politique et social, donc du langage, mais il travaille contre lui, il veut le réformer et le transformer) est particulièrement intéressante : « Within this [Ovidian] world, the idea of error – whether the transgressions of Rome or its reception – is closely bound up with its means of articulation : its *carmen* » (p. 253) ; le fond et la forme sont indissociables. Mais, avant tout, R. Fletcher reconnaît qu'il convient d'abord de se poser la question de la pertinence d'une lecture psychanalytique freudienne – donc datée, et posant elle-même les problèmes de la réception et de l'*error*, non plus romaine, mais viennoise... – et de l'anachronisme qu'il pourrait y avoir, justement, à l'appliquer à l'exégèse d'une civilisation de deux mille ans plus ancienne : « We are warned against the error of taking any psychoanalytic reception of antiquity as a totality, rather than as a body of concepts and practice whose development remains ongoing » (p. 253). La bibliographie est bien documentée, et les ouvrages de langue française sont largement représentés, ce qui n'est pas toujours le cas dans les bibliographies anglo-saxonnes. On aurait aimé y trouver le livre de D. Engels, *Le Déclin. La crise de l'Union européenne et la chute de la république romaine. Analogies historiques*, Paris, 2013, bien en phase avec la problématique de ce livre. De même, l'ouvrage de M. Engerbeaud, *Rome devant la défaite*, Paris, 2017 (qui, certes, n'aborde pas les problèmes de la réception) montre que Rome elle-même n'a pas cessé de tirer profit de ses *errores*, et qu'elle s'est construite par ses échecs et ses défaites.

Joël THOMAS.

Jaś ELSNER, *The Art of the Roman Empire AD 100-450*. Second Edition, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2018 (Oxford History of Art), 24 × 17 cm, xxii-314 p., fig., 19,99 £, ISBN 978-0-19-876863-0.

Publicato per la prima volta nel 1998, il volume viene riproposto a distanza di vent'anni con l'aggiunta di un nuovo capitolo dedicato al contesto euroasiatico, l'apparato fotografico interamente a colori e un aggiornamento bibliografico che è limitato, però, solo a studi editi in lingua inglese. Come è ormai consuetudine anche nei manuali, il libro non segue uno sviluppo cronologico tra i due termini presi come riferimento per l'intera trattazione, il 100 e il 450 d.C., ma è articolato intorno a tematiche quali il potere, la morte, la religione e i processi di acculturazione, nell'ambito delle quali Elsner individua momenti e monumenti che evidenziano i cambiamenti della società romana nello spazio di circa tre secoli e mezzo. La ricomposizione della sequenza cronologica è affidata a una linea del tempo e all'apparato di cartine storiche poste in fondo al volume. La prospettiva che sceglie l'autore per ricostruire l'arte romana è quella di vedere come, di volta in volta, viene utilizzata per ridefinire il presente attraverso la riscrittura del passato. Prescindendo dalla fase augustea che non rientra nell'esposizione, Elsner individua due momenti di particolare interesse. Il primo è quello coincidente con la media età imperiale (intorno alla metà del II secolo d.C.) in cui la stabilizzazione dell'apporto greco fa nascere una nuova dimensione culturale, compiutamente definibile ormai come greco-romana in tutti gli ambiti espressivi. Il secondo è quello della legittimazione del cristianesimo, a partire da Costantino il Grande, che costituisce una nuova fase di riscrittura del passato in funzione delle esigenze di comunicazione di un presente totalmente cambiato. Il cristianesimo viene proposto da Elsner non solo come religione che si fa progressivamente spazio tra divinità pagane e altri culti monoteisti che proliferano nella tarda età imperiale, ma come "sistema culturale dominante" in grado di proporre una nuova mitologia, alternativa a quella greco-romana anche se ne utilizza le forme. I temi non sono ovviamente inediti e tra il 2000 e il 2001 sono stati al centro anche di una mostra, *Aurea Roma. Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana*, curata da Serena Ensoli e

Eugenio La Rocca presso il Palazzo delle Esposizioni a Roma, accompagnata da un monumentale catalogo (Roma, 2000). A differenza del politeismo che prevedeva una molteplicità di riferimenti sia nelle pratiche rituali, sia nelle forme artistiche, il monoteismo cristiano aveva come riferimento unitario le sacre scritture e una gerarchia codificata all'interno di una Chiesa, perciò impose un nuovo rapporto tra religione, committenza e artisti. L'ascesa e il trionfo del cristianesimo sono quindi proposti anche da Elsner come un cambiamento radicale non solo in chiave spirituale, ma anche in termini di espressione visiva nel contesto dell'arte romana. Come è ormai ben noto, il ruolo strategico dell'arte è basato proprio sulla centralità della "visione" nella cultura classica, in quanto strumento di diffusione per la propaganda politica e gli stili di vita a livello sia pubblico sia privato. Pur dando al cristianesimo e alla tarda antichità un significato di decisivo rinnovamento nell'arte, Elsner rifiuta però di aderire agli stereotipi che propongono passaggi netti e lineari, dal naturalismo al simbolismo per esempio. Il confronto tra la base della Colonna di Antonino Pio con la *decursio* e il sarcofago in porfido di Elena con battaglia tra Romani e Barbari è proposto dall'autore come chiara prova della falsità di una visione che vorrebbe l'arte della tarda antichità solo come una manifestazione di declino rispetto alla logica narrativa di stampo classico, a vantaggio di una ricerca che privilegia l'astrazione. Il confronto dimostrerebbe proprio il contrario. Ciò è vero, ma si sarebbe potuto sostenere lo stesso principio scegliendo monumenti diversi? A questo proposito l'autore non sembra mettere a frutto né gli studi sull'alternativa tra il classico e l'anticlassico, che in questo caso porterebbero a rimettere in gioco la corrente italico / plebea, alternativa sempre al classicismo di matrice greca (non solo nella fase Repubblicana e di prima età imperiale come invece sembra ritenere Elsner), né gli studi di Tonio Hölscher sull'arte romana come sistema semantico. La domanda su quale nesso ci sia tra forma e significato è ormai imprescindibile per cercare una chiave di lettura proprio per l'utilizzo di forme diverse, in epoche distanti o nell'ambito della stessa epoca, al fine di comunicare contenuti diversi. L'Arco di Costantino è un altro dei monumenti che avrebbe richiesto una lettura più profonda della contemporanea presenza di forme artistiche diverse, ma volontariamente riunite nello stesso monumento, che l'autore avrebbe potuto discutere partendo da contributi pubblicati proprio negli anni che separano la prima dalla seconda edizione del volume. In particolare ci si riferisce agli studi pubblicati dopo il pluriennale cantiere di restauro, diretto da Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro, come *Adriano e Costantino. Le due fasi dell'arco nella valle del Colosseo*, Milano, 2001. La ristrettezza dei riferimenti bibliografici utilizzati costituisce il limite maggiore di una storia dell'arte romana dall'indubbio taglio innovativo, ma che sembra utilizzare i monumenti al fine di dimostrare teorie, piuttosto che renderli testimoni parlanti di complesse vicende storiche e di stratificate esperienze artistiche. La novità maggiore del volume di Elsner, rispetto ad altri manuali editi anche di recente, è costituita dal superamento dell'irrisolta questione di come trattare l'archeologia e l'arte cristiana. A fronte di una situazione ancora in bilico tra chi ritiene che si debba considerare questo come un settore disciplinare separato, mentre per altri va compreso invece in quello dell'archeologia classica, l'autore propone una decisa scelta di campo. L'approccio non può che essere unitario, secondo Elsner, poiché si tratta di fenomeni artistici che scorrono in parallelo nella storia romana di età imperiale, fino al riconoscimento del cristianesimo come religione di Stato che portò all'annullamento progressivo della committenza pagana. Seguendo un metodo, in verità diffuso ormai anche tra diversi archeologi cristiani (ricordo solo il nome di Fabrizio Bisconti), Elsner indaga quindi la costante "classica" e "pagana", andando oltre l'interesse di natura confessionale e apologetica per i monumenti dell'antico cristianesimo. È una scelta coraggiosa, ma non esente da rischi. A differenza della data tradizionalmente presa come inizio per lo studio dell'archeologia cristiana, ovvero

il secondo quarto del II sec. d.C., periodo in cui si data l'edicola sulla tomba di San Pietro scoperta a Roma nella necropoli vaticana, Elsner individua nel principato di Traiano il punto di partenza della sua trattazione e il 450, anno di morte di Teodosio II, il termine. Il suo *excursus* privilegia il periodo definito come quello della "Seconda Sofistica", estendendo il termine usato da Filostrato II per comprendere la corrente filosofico-letteraria, perfettamente bilingue, sviluppatasi in Asia Minore tra la fine del I e il IV secolo d.C., ma che in particolare costituì l'espressione culturale della classe dirigente del II secolo. Integrare lo studio dell'arte cristiana nell'ambito dell'archeologia classica significa, indubbiamente, rafforzare un dato di fatto – che viene però tradizionalmente condotto su base territoriale, piuttosto che confessionale –, cioè la molteplicità di culture che interagiscono e la loro capacità di influenzare l'arte romana durante tutta l'età imperiale. Il nesso tra la produzione artistica del centro del potere e periferia sembra proposto ancora secondo il tradizionale schema Roma-Province introdotto da Brendel e che Salvatore Settis ha invece da tempo superato a favore di una visione dell'arte romana come esito di un sistema policentrico, e non "bilaterale", di relazioni. Qualche perplessità suscita anche l'uso del termine "romanizzazione", da alcuni sconosciuto oggi nella sua stessa legittimità epistemologica, che definisce invece per Elsner quella globalizzazione data dalla diffusione di riferimenti visivi, grazie ai quali si costituì, come ben sappiamo, la trama unificante dell'Impero. In questo continuo riannodare per temi i destini dell'arte nel mondo romano, tra committenza pagana e cristiana, vengono proposte testimonianze figurative non così frequenti nella manualistica in uso in tale disciplina e questo, insieme al tentativo di far interagire brani della letteratura (con particolare attenzione al genere efrastico), costituisce indubbiamente un fattore di pregio del volume. Un breve *focus*, che ruota intorno all'*Edictum de pretiis rerum uenialium* di Diocleziano, è riservato infine nel volume di Elsner anche ad aspetti dell'economia dell'arte nella società romana. Si tratta di un argomento sempre più indagato negli studi sul mondo antico (esemplare il volume di F. Bourriot, *Banausos – Banausia et la situation des artisans en Grèce classique*, Hildesheim, 2015) e che nel passaggio dalla figura dell'*artifex* a quella del *magister* evidenzia un cambiamento di ruolo dell'artista nella società postclassica (si rinvia al contributo di F. Guidetti, *L'architetto e l'artista*, in A. Marcone (ed.), *L'età romana. Liberi, semiliberi e schiavi in una società premoderna*, Roma, 2016, p. 427-445).

Giuliana CALCANI.

Marion FAURE-RIBREAU (ed.), *Plaute et Aristophane. Confrontations*, Paris, de Boccard, 2018 (Chorégie. Études, 4), 24 × 16 cm, 244 p., 49 €, ISBN 978-2-7018-0527-6.

The proceedings of a 2011 conference ("Aristophane / Plaute : confrontations"), this thought-provoking volume is organized, as the title suggests, around a sequence of confrontations between various aspects of Plautine and Aristophanic comedy. As the editor, Marion Faure-Ribreau, notes, Aristophanes and Plautus' work has rarely been put into conversation with one another, and this volume begins to address that unfortunate omission. The six areas of inquiry, described in further detail below, are the ways in which both comic poets use the stage space and the concept of "here" and "elsewhere"; the gazes of characters, actors, and spectators; remarks directed to the audience; insults directed at fellow characters and audience members; gnomic statements and proverbs; and, lastly, the ways in which each author chooses to finish his plays. The individual contributions themselves are all valuable, although they vary in methodology, scope, and quality. Of great benefit are the short introductions to each section, penned by Faure-Ribreau herself, which help to unify the collection. The book opens with a short preface by Monique Trédé-Boulmer (p. 9-10), which provides a preview of the conclusions

reached by Faure-Ribreau in her six sectional introductions and hints at the ways in which the collection rehabilitates “l’esprit de la farce” (p. 10) found in both Aristophanes and Plautus. Faure-Ribreau then presents the genesis of the project, along with a justification, in her introduction to the volume as a whole (p. 11-16). To her mind, the lack of a familial relation between Attic Old Comedy and Roman *palliata* comedy allows for a more valuable confrontation between the two genres, since it highlights the unique aspects of each genre by eschewing all contrived comparisons between them and moving away from the restrictive view of *palliata* comedy as merely New Comedy relocated to Rome. She hopes that the following studies will inspire reflection on similar issues in other authors, genres, or eras. The first confrontation (“Ici et ailleurs : l’espace scénique, support de jeu”) deals with the use of space in specific Aristophanic and Plautine comedies. Faure-Ribreau’s introduction to the section (p. 17-18) points out that the Aristophanic and Plautine stages are not referential spaces, but rather spaces that support the “jeu” of the comedy itself. In “La construction des espaces dans la *Paix* d’Aristophane” (p. 19-22, a transcription of the original conference presentation), Silvia Milanezi discusses the ways in which Trygaeus’ travels help construct the stage as a common, unifying space for all Greeks. In contrast, Marie-Hélène Garelli’s “Domicile transitoire. Les comédies du « passage » chez Plaute” (p. 23-34) argues that the Plautine stage questions both geographic boundaries and cultural differences of vital importance to the poet’s contemporaries. (E.g. Calydon in *Poenulus* is simultaneously an alternative Athens and a bit of Rome, while Epidamnus in *Menaechmi* is nothing but a linguistic game.) The next confrontation (“Regards en jeu : Circulation du regard dans l’espace théâtral”) shows how the spectators actively construct meaning out of the characters’ gazes. Faure-Ribreau notes in her introduction (p. 35-36) that both of the following chapters demonstrate the importance of the idea of reciprocity in regard to vision. “Le regard dans les comédies de Plaute”, by Pierre Letessier (p. 37-49), categorizes two types of gazes mentioned in Plautine comedy: the first glance calling attention to entering characters, and the series of glances that brings two characters into a face-to-face dialogue. Moreover, he argues that this distinction has spatial and metrical parallels. Letessier then details how such comments are used to create suspense for an audience attuned to the conventions and expectations of the genre. Ghislaine Jay-Robert, on the other hand, tries to understand how Aristophanes uses vision in “Au spectacle avec Aristophane : regards échangés et métathéâtre” (p. 51-68). Jay-Robert discusses the different nuances of each vision verb (*ὄράω*, *θεάομαι*, *βλέπω*, *σκέπτομαι*, *σκοπέω*) in the plays and shows how a community of experience between actors and spectators serves as the foundation of Aristophanes’ comedy, which mirrors Athenian life. Next, the third point of contrast centers on “Les adresses directes aux spectateurs : ludisme plautinien et métathéâtre aristophanien”. The differing terminology for such audience address in the title is explained in Faure-Ribreau’s introduction to the section (p. 69-70), where she asserts that remarks directed to the audience have a different value in each author. Because the Plautine audience is never addressed as a community of citizens and the actors themselves possess no authority, comments directed toward the spectators can never be political but are merely part of the ludic or even ritual context. Faure-Ribreau expands upon these ideas in her chapter (p. 71-85), entitled “Public, es-tu là ? Jeux plautiniens sur la communication ludique”. In these addresses, she asks, who is talking and to whom? Is it the actor’s voice or the characters? Are they talking to the spectators – even specific individuals – or to an abstract or anonymous audience? Analyzing examples of second-person direct address and third-person reference to the spectators, she asserts that it is the actors who speak (other than in epilogues and passages where the voice of the actor and the voice of the character overlap), and they do so to an audience prohibited

from responding due to the ritual context of the performance. She closes by discussing the *choragus* from *Curculio*, pronouncing him neither a character nor an actor but a metatheatrical figure of the stage who delivers the only parabasis in Plautine comedy, and the only speech actually directed from the stage to the audience. Malika Bastin-Hammou takes a different approach in her contribution, “Adresses au public, politique, rituel et métathéâtre dans les comédies d’Aristophane” (p. 87-104), arguing that addresses to the spectators are outside the main fictional frame but still represent a fiction to the second degree since they draw the audience into a shared metatheatrical fiction with the speaker. She illustrates the political, ritual, or metatheatrical functions of such remarks (the latter including prologues, *exodoi*, and pleas to the judges), but argues that the common thread between them is their attempt to celebrate the poet and his work. Turning from celebration to attack, Aristophanes and Plautus’ insults are the fourth area of concern, in “Le spectacle des injures : une violence de pure convention”. Here again Faure-Ribreau draws forth the similarities and differences between the chapters on each poet (p. 105-107): verbal attacks are a conventional part of both comic genres, and one without effect other than at the dramaturgical or ludic level. Rossella Saetta Cottone’s aim is twofold in “Les injures d’Aristophane : une anti-rhétorique ?” (p. 109-119). First, she argues that insults are a privileged weapon in and essential component of the conflict at the heart of Aristophanic comedy. Second, she demonstrates how some Aristophanic comedies parody rhetorical bans on *λοιδορία*. Yet insults directed at the spectators also play a role in implicating the audience into the play’s spectacle and giving the stage action a collective dimension. In contrast, Céline Candiard’s chapter, “*Maledicta et nugae* : des injures pour rire” (p. 121-137) presents insults in Plautine comedy as a form of often humorous spectacle rather than a feature with any actual impact on the target or the audience. Pointing out that the most frequent targets are *serui* and *senes*, Candiard argues that the insults help define the conventions of the angry *senex* and angry *matrona* while also illustrating the fundamental opposition between a *seruus* and a *leno*. However, insults are only effective as a method of slowing down the action (as in the routine of a *seruus currens*). The fifth confrontation centers on “Sentences et maxims : la parole d’autorité à l’épreuve de la comédie”. Faure-Ribreau’s introduction (p. 139-140) notes that the case studies in both of the ensuing chapters illustrate the fragility of the discourse of authority or truth since statements can easily be inverted or turned inside out. But both chapters also show how gnomic statements support the ludic nature of the play despite being primarily a form of verbal spectacle like the insults discussed above. For example, Anne de Cremoux begins her chapter, “Maxime, argumentation et violence chez Aristophane : le cas des *Nuées*” (p. 141-156), by pointing out that most gnomic statements in classical Greek theater are used to present either the poet or an individual character as an educator or possessor of truth. Yet she observes that in both tragedy and comedy the appearance of incompatible maxims within the same conversation demonstrates the limits of said maxim, while in Aristophanes contradictory maxims reduce authoritative language to a mere tool used in order to win an argument. (The chorus of *Clouds* then represents such nebulous and irreconcilable language.) Aristophanes will even employ Euripidean maxims to compete with the tragic poet. In “Les énoncés gnomiques plautiniens : le cas du *Stichus*” (p. 157-180), on the other hand, Nathalie Lhostis demonstrates that gnomic statements – although often used as weapons in rhetorical battles – have no overall effect on the plot of *Stichus*, particularly because those engaged in rhetorical battles often invert the maxims of their opponents or even invent new ones on the spot. Rather, gnomic statements articulate Plautus’ games with dramatic codes and societal norms. The final section, “Comment finir une comédie ?”, investigates both poets’ propensity to privilege the spectacular or ludic aspects of their comedies over the

dramatic action. As Faure-Ribreau points out (p. 181-182), although Aristophanes doesn't place the same emphasis on the punishment of the wicked or on the re-establishment of order as Plautus does, in both authors activity on stage – whether banquet invitations or metatheatrical commentary – often extends beyond the official end of the dramatic arc. Danièle Auger, for example, by focusing on “Les dénouements dans le théâtre d'Aristophane” (p. 183-199) observes how the type of comedy influences how that play ends. Early plays focusing on the pro-civic behavior of an individual hero, for example, end with an *exodos* and often a banquet, both celebrating the newly established order. The chorus' involvement in such scenes decreases starting with *Lysistrata*, however. With the self-interested anti-heroes of *Knights*, *Clouds*, *Wasps*, and *Women at the Thesmophoria*, on the other hand, the endings reveal how close the play comes to tragedy. The final chapter, Christina Filoche's “Théâtralité et moralité des dénouements de Plaute” (p. 201-218), analyzes the ways in which Plautus uses either “les personnages catastrophiques” (p. 202) or a multi-person deception to resolve the knotty complications of his plots. For Filoche, most of Plautus' endings support social norms – especially in terms of morality. On the other hand, Plautus privileges laughter over edification when he punishes the wicked in these final scenes. The volume closes with a bibliography, the biographies of all contributors, and two indices – one of the Greek and Roman passages quoted, the other a regrettably short list of themes. (The only item under “L”, for example is “Ludism / ludique / jeu”.) The volume lacks an overall conclusion, and given the quality and utility of Faure-Ribreau's introductions to the individual sections, it feels like a missed opportunity. Likewise, some of the confrontations are less useful than they could be due to differing methodologies, especially when one of the pair of essays focuses on a single play rather than taking a panoptic view of the author's entire oeuvre. Overall, however, this collection offers a wealth of richly detailed readings and intriguing observations, and scholars of both Greek Old Comedy and Roman comedy would do well to reflect upon the issues raised here.

Erin K. MOODIE.

Tom GEUE, *Juvenal and the Poetics of Anonymity*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2017 (Cambridge Classical Studies), 23 × 14 cm, xiv-352 p., 75 £, ISBN 978-1-108-41634-4.

‘Welcome to the world of satirist anonymous’, writes T. Geue (p. 3) in the introduction to his bold, inventive and frequently ingenious study of Juvenalian satire. According to this book, Juvenal's *Satires* challenge some of the basic assumptions we bring to the interpretation of Latin verse: publication was a means of fashioning an identity or self, poets wrote to win fame for themselves and their work, the written text is the trace or remnant of a larger culture of performance. Not necessarily. Whoever Juvenal was, he was singularly uninterested in immortalizing himself in his poetry. Shorn of all identifying features, the *Satires* appear instead to have been generated automatically by the culture around them. T. Geue's book, with its infectious spirit of overturning old assumptions, tempts us to speculate further. Could the poems have circulated anonymously (p. 17)? Was ‘Juvenal’ himself a late antique fiction, invented to accompany an anonymous corpus (p. 26)? Was he an individual or a ‘team’ (p. 82)? Refreshingly ambitious for a first monograph, *Juvenal and the Poetics of Anonymity* invites us to reassess old truths. The book has its background in recent work on Juvenal. Monographs on the poet had been appearing at the leisurely rate of one per decade or so since the 1950s, but remarkably, six have appeared since 2015. There has also been an important collection of essays by leading Italian scholars, translations and commentaries by S. Lorenz and J. Godwin, and a book-length study of *Satire* 10 by P. Murgatroyd. Not all of this work is of the same



scholarly stripe, but when read together, the new image of Juvenal in these studies is very different from the days of *persona* criticism in the 1980s and 1990s. Many of the monographs are characterized by a desire to read the *Satires* against the political and cultural dynamics of the early second century, to uncover a new connectedness between the texts and their era. The poems do not merely chat about poetics to other satirists across time. Instead, they respond to any number of vital cultural and political phenomena: shifts in the understanding of the emotions (C. Keane), identity politics in the Second Sophistic (J. Uden), changes in the physical landscape of urban Rome (D. Larmour), the globalized world of the second-century Empire (O. Umurhan), a crisis of masculinity under Imperial rule (C. Nappa). Moreover, while earlier critics imagined the poet creating specific characters through which he articulated his ideas, more recent critics have instead stressed the elusiveness of his speaking voices, the absence of clear-cut *personae*. While T. Geue is clearly influenced by this new work – and is generous in giving credit – his book also speaks to other recent movements in Latin literary studies, such as the interest in fragments, in literary fakery and pseudoepigraphica, and in ‘documentality’. My sense is that *Juvenal and the Poetics of Anonymity* will come to be regarded not only as a provocation to scholars of satire, but as a key text in a broader disciplinary trend towards the marginal, abject, and absent voice in Roman literature. The first half of the book is a series of close readings in which T. Geue establishes the poet’s anonymizing approach. In anxious response to the fear of informers, Juvenal makes his first *Satire* as generic as possible. The poem, Juvenal is eager to stress, is a natural response to the wickedness of the times, nothing that anyone with the same rhetorical education would not produce. ‘To avoid accusations of delation’, T. Geue argues, ‘Juvenal partakes of a subtle self-deletion’ (p. 39). Similarly, while *Satire* 7 seems to lament the decline of artistic production due to lack of patronage, T. Geue finds instead a manifesto for mediocrity. A literary scene of interchangeable writers producing disposable texts is pathetic, but safe; a low valuation of the current scene shields individuals from being singled out for dangerous praise. The dialogue with Naevolus in *Satire* 9, which projects the satirist himself as a speaking character, instead becomes an illustration of the poet’s ability to shine an invasive light on everyone else: he is a ‘sieve letting everything through’ (p. 106). The second half of *Juvenal and the Poetics of Anonymity* transitions to a sequential close reading of the poet’s last two books, a move emblematic of the current emphasis on the later works as critical to understanding the *Satires* as a whole. T. Geue sees these poems’ central motifs – cutting, escaping, reducing, consuming – as repeated warnings to disappear into nameless crowds and evade notice. T. Geue cleverly reads the imagery of jettisoning cargo from a sinking ship in *Satire* 12, for example, in metapoetic terms. The text’s ‘sacrificial poetics’ offer an example of how one can shorten one’s poems to minimize the risk of offense. ‘Keep your flocks slender’, he says, ‘and stay alive’ (p. 191). (In his conclusion T. Geue reads the incomplete *Satire* 16 as just this sort of pre-emptive strike, suggesting, as J. Masters did of Lucan, that the final poem was deliberately cut short by its creator). The didactic themes of *Satire* 14 become instead an elaborate demonstration of how a satirist can ‘repudiate the didactic platform’ (p. 229), positioning himself throughout the poem ineffectually at the sidelines of teaching and learning. The reading of *Satire* 13 requires a greater leap of faith. T. Geue argues that Calvinus’ histrionics when decrying the man who defrauded him imply that the financial loss never occurred (p. 216) and that Calvinus himself is guilty (p. 224 – guilty of what?). But even if the reader is unpersuaded by any particular observation, there are always four or five more on the next page, if not in the next paragraph. The reading is close and the pace is quick, and innovative and original ways of reading lines and entire poems abound throughout the book. The most questionable aspect of T. Geue’s argument is the explanation for *why* such a consistent



terror might have afflicted a poet who nonetheless persisted in publishing poems – even very long poems, by generic standards – across three decades and two different imperial reigns. T. Geue's working assumption is that 'anxiety over words was an inalienable feature of the principate itself' (p. 49). Yet R. Winsbury, cited to support the idea that poets in the Empire 'routinely met dead ends' (p. 48), shows that our evidence for authorial deaths is massed together under the reigns of Tiberius, Nero, and Domitian. If Hadrian really had hunted down poets, presumably his hostile later biographers would not have neglected to attack him for it. The claim that Hadrian himself actively policed the Latin poetic scene is surely exaggerated. As T. Geue says early on, Hadrian is known to have written 'love elegies and other ditties' (p. 50); but that hardly makes him a 'paranoid poet out to dominate the scene' (p. 51), or his city 'a Rome invigilated by a Poetic Emperor' (p. 180) and 'overshadowed by the ultimate poet' (p. 196-197). Later writers preserve evidence of Hadrian's envious ambitions as a learned philhellene, but to treat his conflicts with celebrity sophists as an everyday reality for *Latin* writers is to flatten out the cultural complexities of the era. Despite the usefulness of paranoia as a hermeneutic tool, the book's professed 'softer historicism' (p. 12) never really supports the structure of its overarching claims. Yet even when we are led to question some of the book's historical generalizations, its theoretical ideas are constantly productive and enlightening. Early on, for example, T. Geue argues that Juvenal's own habit of generalizing runs counter to the very criteria we bring to a genre like satire, the 'bias towards clarity' that conditions us to associate a reading's success with pinpointing specific names and ideas (p. 55). T. Geue issues provocations like these with real wit and verve. Like his mentor J. Henderson, he has an evident affection for scholarly writing, savoring the unusual turn of phrase and the rare bibliographical curio. Inevitably, there are absences in the book, as there are more generally in the current wave of Juvenalian work. Only two of the recent monographs on Juvenal (by D. Larmour and C. Nappa) give issues of gender a central space, and the omission of *Satire* 6 from my own book was rightly criticized. T. Geue is aware of the same omission. I am not sure he succeeds in reclaiming 'Juvenal for the feminist guard' (p. 11) by associating the *Satires* with gossip and indirection, modes of criticism that are "historically feminized activities" (p. 16), but his book does explore the question of who is *allowed* the choice to be anonymous or invisible. Questions of social power underlie the entire argument. T. Geue trains us to prick up our ears precisely when the poet attempts to evade responsibility for his claims. Rather than invoking irony or ambiguity to excuse Juvenal's often outrageously offensive ideas, the book catches the satirist red-handed for trying to renounce them himself. In doing so, T. Geue gives us the fullest available account of the male poet's elaborate shirking of responsibility for his own words, which is a timely theme indeed. *Juvenal and the Poetics of Anonymity* pursues its single, central claim with energetic persistence, but it also opens up many new lines of inquiry relating to the role and function of the author in Roman literary culture. It is closely attentive to the imaginative potential of authors and texts. Yet its most compelling feature is to encourage us to ask how a text's authority is created, who is accountable for its evasions and illusions, and, in a discipline in which we labor to attach specific names to people and ideas, why names matter so much.

James UDEN.

Roland GLAESSER, *Lucan Lesen – ein Gang durch das Bellum Civile*, Heidelberg, Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2018 (Sprachwissenschaftliche Studienbücher), 24,5 × 16,5 cm, 202 p., 19 €, ISBN 978-3-8253-6879-1.

Es gab in deutscher Sprache bisher kein Lehrbuch, das den Studenten den Zugang zu Lucans *Bellum Civile* erleichtert hätte. Roland Glaesser hat diesem Mangel abgeholfen,

indem er mit *Lucan lesen* zu einem instruktiven „Gang“ durch das Werk einlädt. Der Band ist zum Selbststudium und zum akademischen Unterricht gleichermaßen geeignet. Den sprichwörtlichen ‚interessierten Laien‘ dürfte es freilich weniger ansprechen. Dem Verfasser geht es ausdrücklich nicht um einen Forschungsbericht oder eine (innovative) wissenschaftliche Fragestellung an das Werk, sondern um dessen Präsentation (S. 9). Ob dieser Zugriff in Zeiten geeignet ist, da Lucans Gedicht oft vor allem für seine Mehrdimensionalität und ‚Modernität‘ gefeiert wird, kann man sicher unterschiedlich beurteilen. Allerdings ist Glaessers Darstellung handlich und solide und kann also zur Orientierung in einem voraussetzungsreichen und langen Text ein Hilfsmittel sein. Nach einem sehr knappen Vorwort zu Leben und Werk des Dichters sowie zu den historischen Hintergründen des Bürgerkriegs führt Glaesser seine Leser zunächst systematisch durch die zehn Bücher. Dieser erste Teil nimmt etwa zwei Drittel des Bandes ein. Ein zweiter ist übergreifenden Themen und Strukturen des *Bellum Ciuile* gewidmet (1. Schicksalsmächte, 2. Figuren, 3. Dichterisches, 4. Gedankliches und Leitmotive, 5. Das Verhältnis von Erzähler und Figuren). Die Besprechung der einzelnen Bücher besteht aus einem sinnvollen Wechsel von paraphrasierenden und interpretierenden Passagen. Wichtige Stellen sind übersetzt (Glaesser zitiert hierfür jeweils aus der Tusculum-Ausgabe von Wilhelm Ehlers) und wo es nötig ist, werden Strukturen mit Hilfe prägnanter Abschnittsüberschriften und zugehörigen Versangaben veranschaulicht. Das Buch lässt sich somit sowohl linear als Einführung in das *Bellum Ciuile* lesen als auch als Hilfe für den Umgang mit einzelnen Abschnitten benutzen. So ansprechend dieser unmittelbare Zugang zum Werk ist, so problematisch wird er allerdings bei den notorisch schwierigen Aspekten des Gedichts. Cato, beispielsweise, ist für Glaesser – gemäß einer verbreiteten Forschungsmeinung, aber ohne dass dies aus dem Text des *Bellum Ciuile* selbst zweifellos hervorgeht – der stoische Weise und Heilige (S. 26) und, insofern er die stoische Ideologie vom Selbstmord als Mittel zur Bewahrung der Freiheit vertritt (S. 94-104), ein Held, der auch für Lucans zeitgenössische Leserschaft vorbildlich wirken und eine Mahnung zum ‚geistigen Widerstand‘ gegen den Prinzipat darstellen könnte (S. 93, 99). Ob man hierin den zentralen Gehalt des Gedichtes sehen will, ist sicher eine Geschmacksfrage. Zwar ist es zu begrüßen, wenn der Verfasser dies grundsätzlich offenlässt, aber es muss doch verwirren, wenn er einerseits einen recht affirmativen Vergleich von Cato und Christus (S. 26) anregt, dann aber an anderen Stellen Lucans Distanz zur Stoa bekundet (etwa bezüglich 7.454-459, der auktorialen Absage an die „stoische Auffassung eines sinnvollen Götterregimes“, S. 73 oder 9.629, wo die ostentative Betonung der Verderblichkeit der Schlangen als „Polemik gegen den positiven Naturbegriff der Stoiker“ verstanden wird, S. 100). Diese Spannung wird etwas umständlich erst im zweiten Teil aufgelöst, wenn Glaesser andeutet, dass der lucanische Cato auch im Ganzen anders interpretiert worden ist und dass der lucanische Erzähler durchaus kein Stoiker (und, bei allem Lob, das er verteilt, nicht einmal ein Anhänger Catos) zu sein braucht (S. 130f.). Es wäre passender gewesen, wenn die interpretativen Schwierigkeiten von Anfang an deutlich gemacht und in ihren Dimensionen etwas weiter ausgeführt worden wären. Ähnlich verhält es sich mit der Frage nach dem Ende des Werks (S. 76). Zwar ist es richtig, dass das *Bellum Ciuile* überwiegend als Fragment verstanden wird und dass Catos Selbstmord am Schluss eines hypothetischen zwölften Buches zu den populärsten Rekonstruktionen zählt (S. 132); dennoch handelt es sich hierbei, wie unlängst Christine Walde erneut deutlich gemacht hat, um interpretative Vorurteile (in C. Schmitz *et al.* [ed.], *Anfänge und Enden*, Heidelberg, 2017, S. 169-198). Deren Wirkung und Bedeutung hätte, zumal in einer Einführung, vielleicht etwas ausführlicher diskutiert werden sollen – gerade weil sich ja auch zeigen lassen dürfte, dass es solche Vorurteile sind, die die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Werk interessant machen. Den Nutzen des Buches

kann jedoch diese Kritik nicht schmälern, denn Glaessers Hauptverdienst besteht darin, die lucanische Erzählweise anschaulich zu machen. Für Glaesser ist Lucan weder ein verkappter Historiker noch ein Philosoph, sondern ein Dichter, der, auch das wird sinnvollerweise vom Verfasser nicht verschwiegen, bisweilen terminologische und sachlogische Konsistenz zugunsten der poetischen Wirkung zurückstellt. Zur Erläuterung von Lucans dichterischer Technik dienen neben ein paar sparsamen, aber nützlichen Blicken auf die epische Tradition (namentlich Homer und Vergil, z.B. S. 149) hauptsächlich narratologische Detailbeobachtungen zum *Bellum Ciuile*. So hebt Glaesser vor allem das Dramatische des Gedichts hervor, und zwar sowohl was den Inhalt betrifft, etwa die Tragik der Pompeius-Figur, als auch mit Blick auf die narrative Gestaltung, das ‚Auftreten‘ und die scheinbare Eigenständigkeit der Figuren. Besonders erhellend ist hier die Beobachtung zu Caesars Anrede an die abwesende Cleopatra (9.1068-1071: *quod si Phario germana tyranno / non inuisa foret, ... tuum pro munere tali / misissem, Cleopatra, caput*). In Glaessers Deutung der Apostrophe wendet sich Caesar an die Königin, so „als stünde sie, ihren Auftritt erwartend, bereits hinter dem Vorhang und höre mit“ (S. 108). So kann der Autor Cleopatras spätere Verführungsversuche gewissermaßen als bewusste Reaktion darauf verstehen: „man gewinnt den Eindruck, dass Cleopatra ... tatsächlich der erzählten Handlung beigewohnt und das ‚Skript‘ mitgelesen hat“. Mittels Beobachtungen wie dieser macht Glaesser immer wieder treffend auf die Komplexitäten der lucanischen Erzählung aufmerksam, ohne dies mit aufwendigen literaturtheoretischen Erklärungen einzuordnen: die Leser dürfen sich einfach faszinieren und herausfordern lassen. Indem der Verfasser immer wieder auf seine selbst gewählten methodischen Grenzen hinweist, ermuntert er aber sein Publikum, weitere systematische Betrachtungen selbst vorzunehmen. Besonders gelungen ist in dieser Hinsicht die kurze Schlussbetrachtung, wo der Verfasser daran erinnert, dass Erichtho in Goethes Faust unter dem schlechten Ruf leidet, den sie den Dichtern zu verdanken habe (S. 157). Die Frage, wie der lucanische Erzähler mit seinen Figuren interagiert (und wie diese sich daraufhin zu ihm stellen) und wie die Leser mit den Finten eines Autors umzugehen haben, der die Grenzen zwischen Realität und Fiktion so suggestiv verwischt, ist hiermit noch einmal sehr eindringlich gestellt. Dem Buch beigegeben ist eine Literaturliste, die zwar notgedrungen knapp, aber doch noch repräsentativ ist. Zu kritisieren ist allerdings eine editorische Entscheidung. Auch Studenten sind nach Meinung des Rezensenten Anmerkungen in der Fußzeile zuzumuten – weit mehr als bei gewecktem Interesse (und das ist bei diesem Buch oft der Fall) das mühsame Aufsuchen von Endnoten.

Markus KERSTEN.

Robin GLINATISIS, *De l'Art poétique à l'Épître aux Pisons d'Horace. Pour une redéfinition du statut de l'œuvre*, Lille, Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2018 (Cahiers de philologie, 34. Série Apparat critique), 24 × 16 cm, 203 p., 25 €, ISBN 978-2-7574-2021-8.

*L'Épître aux Pisons* (Ep. II, 3) a, dès l'époque de Quintilien, été comprise comme une *Ars Poetica* (AP). C'est avec cette clé que les grammairiens latins, le Pseudo-Acron, Porphyryon, puis des médiévaux (e.g. Bernard d'Utrecht, Conrad d'Hirsau, sans doute Alcuin de York) l'ont commentée. Mais, comme les traités de rhétorique et de poétique présentent beaucoup de points communs, la *Rhétorique à Herennius* ainsi que le *De inuentione* de Cicéron ont aussi été régulièrement rapprochés de la lettre d'Horace. La Renaissance s'inscrit dans cette tradition, mais elle vit en outre des érudits se convaincre de l'étroite communauté d'esprit qui devait selon eux régner entre la *Poétique* d'Aristote (redécouverte aux alentours de 1535) et l'AP d'Horace. Aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, la

supériorité du Stagirite comme théoricien de la poétique est souvent proclamée, comme la rigueur de l'*Art Poétique* de Nicolas Boileau est louée par Voltaire, lequel reproche à Horace son manque de méthode. Ainsi, des éditeurs du poète latin, comme Heinsius, puis Richard Bentley, seront amenés à apporter de lourdes corrections au texte d'Horace dans l'espoir de réduire d'apparentes incohérences par rapport à ce que l'on aurait attendu d'un traité théorique. Toutefois, à partir de la seconde moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, on commença à admettre que le texte de l'*AP* visait à être plaisant autant qu'instructif, ce qui expliquait ces libertés. Ainsi donc, peu de critiques ont en définitive appréhendé l'*Épître aux Pisons* pour elle-même. Ce constat, relativement récent, a encouragé Robin Glinatsis dans ses recherches qui ont abouti en 2010 à une thèse de doctorat présentée à l'Université de Lille 3 sous la direction d'Alain Deremetz. Le livre recensé ici, publié quelques années plus tard, conserve par endroits un « style thèse ». C'est par exemple le cas de la première partie (p. 25-57), qui confronte l'*AP* aux traités grecs et latins sur la rhétorique. Les discussions et la bibliographie sont anciennes, et la conclusion ne surprend pas : Horace connaît sans aucun doute les concepts et les termes de la technique rhétorique, mais sa lettre ne se présente pas comme un manuel théorique. La confrontation de l'*AP* avec les traités de poétique grecs (p. 59-83) aboutit à une conclusion similaire, qu'il s'agisse de la *Poétique* d'Aristote ou de celle de Néoptolème de Parion, dont la pensée nous est partiellement révélée grâce à des citations et des critiques faites par Philodème de Gadara et livrées par des papyrus d'Herculanum. Par exemple, R. Glinatsis constate que la distinction stricte entre les catégories de la *ποίησις* et du *ποίημα* s'estompe dans la pensée d'Horace ; si le discours horatien est traversé de références à une terminologie précise, le poète affiche une constante liberté à l'égard de la tradition théorique. La deuxième partie du livre étudie le caractère épistolaire de l'*AP*, avec un état de la question sur la définition de l'épître dans l'Antiquité ; R. Glinatsis conclut qu'Horace a épousé la tradition de l'épître scientifique en s'inspirant d'Aristote ou d'Épicure, mais en a fait un usage extrêmement libre. Les *τόποι* du genre que sont la *φιλοφρόνησις*, la *παρουσία* et l'*ὀμιλία* sont présentés avec une grande originalité ; les marges traditionnelles de la lettre (« paratextes ») sont remplacées par un début *in medias res* et une fin *ex abrupto* (procédés qui sont par ailleurs banals chez Horace). Le lecteur est alors orienté vers un trait fondamental de l'*AP* : la langue et l'esthétique du *sermo*, dont le caractère fluctuant, la *grata neglegentia*, l'absence de connecteurs logiques, les insertions abruptes qui interrompent la linéarité du texte, se situent aux antipodes de la langue du traité théorique. Le mode de progression du *sermo* ne renonce pas à toute logique, mais il se fonde sur des jeux d'échos. R. Glinatsis nous invite ainsi à rapprocher l'*AP* des *Satires* horatiennes. Le chapitre suivant veut montrer que le texte d'Horace est circonscrit. En effet, l'*AP* s'inscrit dans les préoccupations idéologiques et littéraires romaines de son temps (discussions sur l'innovation lexicale qu'on reprochait notamment à Virgile dans ses *Géorgiques*, sur la comparaison entre poésie et peinture, sur les *realia* de la Rome augustéenne). En outre, elle est adressée aux Pisons, un père et ses deux fils. Des différentes possibilités d'identification qui ont été avancées, R. Glinatsis préfère celle déjà énoncée par Porphyryon : le père aurait été Lucius Calpurnius Piso Pontifex, fils de Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, beau-père de Jules César et propriétaire de la Villa des Papyrus à Herculanum. Comme Pontifex serait né en 48 a.C., ses fils n'auraient pas été suffisamment âgés pour profiter de la lettre qu'Horace leur adressa si celle-ci avait été écrite plus tôt qu'à la fin de la vie du poète. Il faut donc dater l'*AP* des années 13-9 a.C. – ce qui n'en fait pas pour autant une sorte de testament poétique. À ce stade, R. Glinatsis adhère à une hypothèse de Christof Martin Wieland (qui, au sein de son immense production littéraire, publia une traduction des *Épîtres* d'Horace en 1782) selon laquelle l'*AP* aurait été une réponse, d'une grande finesse psychologique,

à la demande de Pontifex de porter un jugement sur une production littéraire de son fils aîné. Horace aurait usé du *sermo* pour faire passer élégamment ses réserves, voire sa réprobation. Le texte n'aurait donc eu aucune vocation à s'ériger en art poétique impersonnel, mais aurait été attaché à un cadre contextuel précis. Glinatsis va même plus loin : constatant l'importance du traitement consacré au drame dans la lettre (importance qu'on attribue généralement à l'influence de la *Poétique* d'Aristote), il suppose que c'était une pièce de théâtre que le fils aîné de Pison lui avait soumis, et même qu'il s'agissait d'un drame satyrique. En effet, ce genre, dont l'existence dans la Rome augustéenne est très controversée, reçoit un étonnant développement en AP 220-250, avec le rapprochement du nom des Pisons de la périphrase *Satyrorum scriptor* (235). Le drame satyrique y est présenté par Horace comme une forme moyenne, entre l'élévation de la tragédie et la bassesse de la comédie, incarnant donc l'idéal de la *mediocritas* cher au poète. La dernière partie du livre suggère de lire l'*Épître aux Pisons* comme un poème sur l'art de la poésie. Par exemple, les vers liminaires qui décrivent un être hybride et absurde (1-5) ne visent pas à exposer un principe en termes clairs, mais ils n'en sont pas moins programmatiques : « ils inaugurent un mode discursif fondé sur le recours à l'image et, plus largement, sur une série de tropes que l'on peut légitimement qualifier de poétiques » (p. 185). Dès lors, l'*Épître aux Pisons* doit être appréhendée comme beaucoup d'autres poèmes horatiens, parmi les *Satires* mais aussi les *Odes* et les *Épodes*, qui se signalent par leur propension à caractériser le genre qu'ils investissent. Le livre de R. Glinatsis offre donc une bien utile mise au point sur les rapprochements possibles de l'*Épître aux Pisons* avec d'autres genres (en particulier les traités théoriques), propose une hypothèse originale sur le drame satyrique et nous invite à lire le texte dans une perspective strictement poétique.

Philippe DESY.

Antonino GRILLONE, *Iordanes. Getica*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2017 (Auteurs latins du Moyen Âge), 19 × 13 cm, CLXXX-564 p., fig., 65 €, ISBN 978-2-251-44743-8.

Nonostante la pubblicazione, negli ultimi decenni, di numerosi studi di natura storica e filologico-linguistica sulla figura e l'opera di Giordane (d'ora in avanti Gio.), non esisteva a tutt'oggi un'edizione critica con traduzione e commento dei suoi due scritti *Romana* (R.) e *Getica* (G.). Questa lacuna è ampiamente colmata, almeno per ciò che riguarda i G., dalla recente edizione di Antonino Grillone, che riprende, approfondendola e migliorandola in diversi punti, quella precedente di F. Giunta / A. Grillone (Roma, 1991). Il libro si compone di tre sezioni principali, che discutiamo qui di seguito. Nella prima ("Prefazione", p. XI-CLXXX) si introducono, con grande meticolosità, una serie di problemi legati all'autore e alla costituzione del testo. Dopo una breve introduzione sulla biografia e le opere di Gio. (p. XI-XXIV), Grillone presenta in dettaglio le tre famiglie che tramandano l'opera (p. XXIV-LI), indicando lo *stemma codicum* (p. XXXV) e specificando, per ciascun manoscritto, le caratteristiche e il contributo fornito al testo edito. Il capitolo successivo, il più lungo di questa sezione, è dedicato specificamente alla "costituzione del testo" (p. LI-CVI). Si discutono e chiariscono qui dettagliatamente: (a) gli emendamenti e le divergenze interpretative rispetto alle precedenti edizioni – soprattutto Giunta / Grillone e Mommsen (Berlin, 1882) – nonché a diversi studi di Iordache, Kalén e altri nei quali si esaminano singoli passaggi dei G.; (b) le scelte testuali fatte in accordo con un unico testimone o con un gruppo di codici; (c) vari tipi di modifiche o emendamenti concernenti avverbi, preposizioni, congiunzioni, pronomi relativi e desinenze; (d) cambiamenti, rispetto all'edizione di Mommsen, per ciò che riguarda interpunzione, numerazione dei paragrafi, capoversi, incisi e parentesi. Segue un capitolo dedicato ai criteri e alle scelte della traduzione (p. CVI-CXXV) con la quale

l'editore si propone, tra le altre cose, "di offrire, al pubblico dei lettori colti ma non specialisti, un testo dei *G.* di facile intellegibilità" (p. CXXIII-CXXIV). Nel capitolo successivo (CXXV-CLI) si affrontano importanti questioni legati alla lingua e allo stile di Gio. Dopo aver premesso che Mommsen ha dato "peso esclusivo alla prima famiglia (*a*) ... notevolmente «sgrammaticata»" (p. CXXV-VI), Grillone indica una lunga serie di modifiche da lui adottate, volte a eliminare anomalie grafico-fonetiche, morfologiche e sintattiche accolte nell'edizione di Mommsen, ma da imputare, a suo giudizio, agli amanuensi. La discussione si concentra poi sugli "usi del latino tardo e di termini e locuzioni dello strato quotidiano, anche andante" (p. CXXXIV). Non è chiaro, tuttavia, cosa intenda l'autore con "registro quotidiano" o "lingua d'ogni giorno" (p. CXXXIX s.), di cui non si fornisce definizione. In esso rientrano infatti varie espressioni che sono o già attestate in epoca classica, come la corrispondenza *ire-redire* in *G.* 7 (cfr. *ThLL* V,2,630,44ss.) e il sintagma diffuso *ab re iudicare, arbitrari* etc. (cfr. *OLD* s.v. 13d), o caratteristiche dello stile biblico (*meminit dicens, dicit iniquens*), di cui è dunque difficile ipotizzare una diffusione nel latino parlato del VI secolo d.C. Si discutono infine le caratteristiche espressive di Gio. (l'uso di termini poetici, il ricorso a figure retoriche, la presenza di osservazioni personali e i riferimenti a fatti ed eventi contemporanei), le quali rivelerebbero "una formazione culturale da non trascurare, ed anzi da apprezzare con attenta riflessione" (p. CLI). Chiudono la prefazione due elenchi geografici con importanti notizie anche storiche sulle regioni (territori, isole, monti, mari, fiumi, laghi) e sulle città menzionate da Gio. (p. CLI-CLXXVII). La seconda e terza sezione comprendono, oltre al testo critico, la traduzione italiana (p. 1-263), che tende a mantenersi fedele all'originale, rendendo, ove necessario, le variazioni di registro in esso presenti. Le note di commento, distribuite tra il testo e le note aggiuntive (p. 265-423), sono di grande utilità per il lettore, spaziando da questioni paleografiche e filologico-linguistiche (per lo più in riferimento alle scelte testuali adottate) a digressioni di natura storica o geografica. Il lavoro si chiude con un'ampia bibliografia (p. 425-66), sei *indices* (p. 467-559) (*criticus, notabilium, regum Gothorum, scriptorum, personarum, locorum et populorum*) e tre carte geografiche dell'impero (p. 560-562). Il testo e la traduzione si segnalano per alcune brillanti intuizioni, la maggior parte delle quali, comunque, già figurava in Giunta / Grillone. Esse consentono, tra le altre cose, di comprendere meglio vari passi dei *G.* che risultano invece alquanto oscuri, se non incomprensibili, nell'edizione di Mommsen. Segnalo, tra queste, la modifica *tamen* → *tantum* in *G.* 14,19,29 etc. (cfr. n. 88 a p. 281), l'emendazione in *G.* 134 di *adquiescere* in *acquirere*, che molto meglio si adatta al contesto narrativo, la modifica del trådito *plena mollitie* in *planitie molli*, probabile frutto di uno scambio fra i due finali di parola, la resa di *profundus* in *G.* 168 col senso negativo di "tenebroso", la scelta della lezione *haerentibus* di O contro *merentibus* degli altri codici in *G.* 207 (è possibile ipotizzare la menda *cunctationem haerentibus* → *cunctatione m(h)aerentibus*) e la sostituzione di *placida* di *a,c* con *placita* di *b* in riferimento alla legazione pontificia. Il problema principale nella costituzione del testo concerne, tuttavia, l'aspetto grammaticale, in particolare quello morfosintattico. Come infatti indicato a più riprese nella prefazione (e come già evidente in Giunta / Grillone), l'autore, partendo dal presupposto che Gio. padroneggiasse le norme linguistiche del latino classico, considera, in un ampio numero di casi, deviante la lezione trådita dalla famiglia *a*, i cui copisti, a suo giudizio, "non conoscevano bene la lingua latina" (p. XXXIV) e avrebbero pertanto modificato ripetutamente la grammatica del testo, svolgendo inoltre in modo inadeguato le molte abbreviazioni dell'archetipo. In tutti questi casi, Grillone dà generalmente priorità alla seconda (*b*) o, molto più spesso, alla terza famiglia (*c*), "trascritta da amanuensi di cultura linguistica latina ... senz'altro superiore a quella dei copisti della prima" (p. XXXII). Nonostante, dunque, l'editore dichiari di



non indulgere “a normativismo fuori luogo” (p. XLIX) e di valutare, nella scelta delle varianti, “con particolare scrupolo il contesto e la sua logica” (p. XXXIII; cfr. anche p. 382 n. 572, p. 413 n. 720), il testo da lui edito è in genere perfettamente conforme alle norme linguistiche d’età classica e nei molti casi in cui i codici esibiscono lezioni divergenti, la scelta ricade pressoché sistematicamente su quella più conforme agli standard ciceroniani, anche se trasmessa da una minoranza di codici o addirittura da un unico testimone. Le poche ‘deviazioni’ ammesse riguardano più l’ambito stilistico-lessicale che quello prettamente grammaticale (nelle pochissime eccezioni rientrano l’uso dei deponenti con valore passivo, attestato peraltro già in epoca arcaica, e l’uso ‘anomalo’ del congiuntivo in proposizioni relative). Questo modo di procedere, tuttavia, solleva parecchi dubbi. In un mio recente lavoro, infatti (G. Galdi, *Syntaktische Untersuchungen zu Jordanes: Beiträge zu den Romana*, Hildesheim, 2013, in parte ripreso in *Considerazioni paleografiche e linguistiche sulle opere di Jordanes*, in P. Molinelli et al. (ed.), *Latin Vulgaire. Latin Tardif X*, Bergamo, 2014, p. 789-806 [entrambi gli studi non sono menzionati da Grillone]) ho rivalutato l’affidabilità dei codici di *a*, in particolare di *H* (*Heidelbergensis*), il più antico della famiglia, basandomi su un lungo segmento dei *R*. (poco meno di un terzo dell’intera opera) ripreso dall’*Epitome de Tito Livio* di Floro. Mentre infatti in altri capitoli dei *R*. si assiste tendenzialmente a una rielaborazione linguistica del modello, in più dell’80% della sezione dipendente da Floro, Gio. procede a una pura trascrizione della fonte, ricopiandola parola per parola. L’accurato esame di questo lungo frammento ci ha dunque consentito di valutare l’attendibilità di *a*, l’unica che trasmette per intero i *R*., giacché, data la fedeltà di ricopiatura dal modello, le alterazioni (in particolare quelle di natura ortografica e fonomorfologica) sono generalmente da imputare a un intervento degli scribi. Sulla base del numero, della frequenza e del tipo di deviazioni presenti nei testimoni ne ho potuto pertanto stimare, con un buon margine di approssimazione, la tendenza all’errore. Da tale raffronto è emerso, da un lato, che come ipotizzato da Grillone, i manoscritti di *a* esibiscono molte deviazioni dalla fonte (in 290 casi *H* si distacca dal testo di Floro in accordo con almeno un altro codice di *a*), dall’altro, però, che nella stragrande maggioranza dei casi si tratta di errori di natura o puramente grafica (*ablatus* per *Alba tum*, *omnemque* per *omenque*, etc.) o legata a fattori fonetici (confusione *o/u*, *eli*, omissione di *h-*, etc.). Viceversa, in ambito morfosintattico (in particolare nel trattamento di *-m* e *-s* finali e nella distinzione casuale ablativo / accusativo) il testo di Floro è riprodotto con grandissima fedeltà (il numero di deviazioni è trascurabile) e non vi è motivo di pensare che nei restanti due terzi circa dei *R*. e, ovviamente, nei *G*. i copisti di *a* abbiano proceduto in maniera diversa. Alla luce di questi risultati, risulta molto poco persuasiva la scelta di Grillone di eliminare ovvero regolarizzare una serie di fenomeni morfosintattici, accolti invece da Mommsen, i quali, sebbene estranei allo standard normativo classico, figurano ripetutamente in entrambe le opere di Gio. (come trasmesse da *a*) e, soprattutto, esibiscono numerosi paralleli in altri autori letterari tardi (Gregorio di Tours, Marcellino Comes, Venanzio Fortunato, etc.). Si elencano qui di seguito alcuni dei casi più indicativi, rinviando, per altri esempi, a Galdi (2013 / 2014). Il primo riguarda l’oscillazione casuale dopo *in*. Come noto, con questa preposizione, in virtù della doppia reggenza, si assiste spesso nella tarda latinità alla confusione accusativo / ablativo e generalmente è l’abl. che tende ad affermarsi, soprattutto nell’espressione del moto, ciò che lascia pensare a una confusione di natura psicologica. Ora, stando ad *a*, i *R*. presentano 15 ‘deviazioni’ di questo tipo con nomi geografici, i *G*. 17 (al plurale e al singolare), dei quali 11 sono anche presenti in almeno un codice di un’altra famiglia. In 15 di questi casi, però, Grillone rimpiazza l’abl. con l’acc., es. *G*. 131 *legatos in Romania* (→ *-am*) *direxerunt*, 141 *in Gallis* (→ *-ias*) *receserat*. La legittimità di tali interventi è minata da un lato dalla succitata diffusione del fenomeno in epoca tardo-antica, dall’altro dalla trasmissione del frammento di Floro



nei *R.*: qui figurano 14 casi di *in* + acc. con nomi geografici e in nessuno di essi *H* si discosta dalla fonte. Estendendo poi l'analisi a nomi non geografici, in questa sezione si segnalano soltanto due casi su 98 in cui *H* rimpiazza un acc. con un abl. dopo *in*. Ancora più eclatante è il caso delle costruzioni assolute. Un sintagma ben noto e diffuso nella tarda antichità (soprattutto nel VI sec.) è rappresentato dall'accusativo assoluto, che è caratterizzato per lo più da tre elementi: (a) il costituente (pro)nominale è oggetto di quello verbale, (b) il costituente verbale è un participio perfetto passivo, (c) il soggetto logico del processo verbale è coreferente col soggetto della sovraordinata. Nel caso poi particolare di Gio., A. Helttula (*Studies on the Latin Accusative Absolute*, Helsinki, 1987 [studio non citato da Grillone]), che vi dedica una lunga discussione, individua altre tre caratteristiche che tendono a distinguere questo costrutto dall'ablativo assoluto: (1) la semantica del participio, che nella maggior parte dei casi si riferisce a episodi di guerra e/o violenza, (2) l'inserimento tra participio e (pro)nome di più lessemi che 'dilatano' l'estensione del sintagma e (3) l'ordine dei costituenti (il participio di solito segue il (pro)nome). In Gio. si registrano anche costruzioni assolute miste tra acc. e abl., che oltre a condividere, nella maggior parte dei casi, i tratti (b) e (c) con l'acc. ass., esibiscono quasi sistematicamente il (pro)nome in acc. e il participio in abl. (del tipo *foedus inito*). Ora, ambedue i costrutti (acc. ass. e costruzioni miste) sono regolarmente trasmessi da *a* e, nei *G.*, per lo più anche da testimoni di altre famiglie. Ciononostante, Grillone espunge tutte le costruzioni miste (in totale 16) e 25 dei 27 acc. ass. con participio perfetto editi dal Mommsen sostituendoli con sintagmi classici (abl. ass., participio congiunto etc.), anche se questi sono traditi da uno o due codici soltanto, es. *G. 62 a magna Scythia nomen mutuatum (a,c, mutuata Grillone con B), 65 foedus inito (a,O, -ere -o Grillone con c,B)*. Anche in questi casi l'inopportunità delle modifiche emerge dall'esame del frammento di Floro nei *R.*, in cui come già notato, le desinenze di acc. e abl. sono correttamente distinte dai copisti di *a*. In particolare, degli 80 abl. ass. presenti in Floro, solo uno viene alterato (presumibilmente) dagli amanuensi (*R. 121 frustratum [-o Fl.] circa purpuratum eius ictu*). Inoltre, la diffusione dell'acc. ass. e delle costruzioni miste in testi coevi e soprattutto la succitata presenza al loro interno di elementi caratteristici ricorrenti che tendono a distinguerli dall'abl. ass. rendono molto probabile, se non quasi certa, l'ipotesi che Gio. ne facesse un uso comune. Occorre infine menzionare l'uso di *qui*, *quem* e *quod* non concordanti nel genere (più di rado nel numero), col sostantivo di riferimento. I *R.* e i *G.* offrono complessivamente 24 esempi di questo tipo nell'edizione di Mommsen, di cui otto con *quod* e 16 con *qui* e *quem*. Tali forme sono costantemente presenti in *a* e, per i *Getica*, spesso anche in altre famiglie, ma non ve ne restano tracce nell'edizione di Grillone: alla lezione 'deviante' (che in qualche caso dipenderebbe, a detta dell'editore, da uno svolgimento erroneo di un'abbreviazione del pronome) viene regolarmente preferita quella classica, anche se presente in un unico codice, es. *G. 17 Vistulae fluuii, qui* (Grillone con *B, fluminis quod A, fluminis qui* rell. e Mommsen), 93 *flumine illo, quod* (Grillone con *B, qui* rell. e Mommsen). Contro la necessità di questi cambiamenti si possono invocare, ancora una volta, sia numerosi paralleli in testi della stessa epoca, che trovano peraltro riflesso nello sviluppo della lingua (si pensi al paradigma del relativo in francese), sia il fatto che i 66 pronomi relativi presenti nel frammento di Floro dei *R.* sono tutti correttamente ricopiati dai manoscritti di *a*, incluso *H*. Per concludere, nonostante il testo edito e, occasionalmente, la traduzione che lo accompagna suscitino non pochi dubbi, soprattutto per la regolarizzazione grammaticale pressoché sistematica del testo latino, l'edizione di Grillone, sotto ogni aspetto seria e ben documentata, è senz'altro destinata a divenire, per vastità e meticolosità d'indagine, un'opera di riferimento negli studi sui *Getica*, e più in generale, nella discussione su Giordane e la storiografia latina tardo-antica.

Giovanbattista GALDI.

Nicolae GUDEA / Mihail ZAHARIADE, *Moesia Prima. Festungen an der Nordgrenze der Provinz und ihre Truppenkörper*, Amsterdam, A. M. Hakkert, 2017 (Classical and Byzantine Monographs, 91), 25 × 17,5 cm, 241 p., fig., 50 €, ISBN 978-90-256-1328-0.

Cet ouvrage est destiné à tous les chercheurs qui s'intéressent à la Mésie en particulier et au Bas-Empire en général, bien que son propos soit limité à la province du Bas-Empire connue sous le nom de Mésie Première. Son format, modeste, n'a pas permis aux auteurs de présenter le sujet sous tous ses aspects, mais les lecteurs trouveront l'ensemble des références qui leur seront nécessaires pour entreprendre des enquêtes plus approfondies. Ils se rendront donc aux notes qui accompagnent chaque paragraphe et à la bibliographie générale (p. 108-134), à laquelle nous ne voyons que peu de titres à ajouter. Pour les légions : Y. Le Bohec / C. Wolff (ed.), *Les Légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, Lyon, 2000 et 2003, 3 vol., qui va souvent jusqu'au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, malgré son titre. Pour l'armée du Bas-Empire : A. Sarantis / N. Christie (ed.), *War and Warfare in Late Antiquity: Current Perspectives*, Leiden / Boston, 2013. Les auteurs ont voulu présenter d'abord l'histoire et les sites, en les regroupant (p. 5-35). Ils commencent par rappeler la théorie bien connue d'E. Luttwack, qui a écrit que la stratégie du Bas-Empire était une stratégie « en profondeur » ; ils dressent une liste des sources disponibles et ils font un état de la recherche. Ils étudient ensuite les sites connus et ils essaient de les mettre en rapport avec des noms mentionnés par la *Notitia Dignitatum* et par d'autres textes. Ils constatent que cette frontière était appelée *ripa* ; sur ce mot, voir P. Troussset, *La Notion de ripa et les frontières de l'Empire*, in F. Piquet (ed.), *Le Fleuve et ses métamorphoses*, Paris, 1993, p. 141-152. Force est de constater que, dans ce cas, le schéma d'E. Luttwack n'est pas applicable : en Mésie Première, la défense était linéaire ; mais il est vrai que les généraux pouvaient compter sur l'appui des provinces voisines. Les auteurs prennent en compte les murs du Banat, les monnaies, avant d'établir la liste de leurs sites (p. 25-35), dont les plus connus sont *Singidunum* (aujourd'hui Belgrade ; p. 25), *Margum* (p. 26) et *Viminacium* (p. 26 également). Dans une deuxième partie, les auteurs s'attachent aux unités. Ils reprennent le schéma précédent – sources et état des questions – puis ils passent aux instruments de la connaissance, qui sont surtout les tuiles estampillées (p. 50-63) et la *Notitia Dignitatum*. La présentation des inscriptions est quelque peu décevante et le lecteur se retrouvera bien loin des règles suivies par l'*Année Epigraphique*. Dans cet ouvrage, les textes sont donnés en abrégé et en capitales. Quoi qu'il en soit, on retrouve la *ripa* et les unités attendues, les légions *IV Flavia* et *VII Claudia*, plus des unités auxiliaires, des noms de sites et d'officiers. Au total, on constate qu'il est souvent difficile de rapprocher un toponyme et un lieu. L'ouvrage est enrichi par des cartes (p. 72-77), par des plans et des dessins (p. 78-89). On y trouve des appareils de murs, des tours et tout un mobilier archéologique comprenant notamment des armes. Les plans de fortifications permettent de retrouver les critères d'identification propres au Bas-Empire : petite taille des enceintes, tours d'angle, casernements périphériques, etc. Cet ouvrage devra prendre place dans les bibliothèques consacrées à l'armée romaine et au Bas-Empire. Il constitue un utile point de départ pour de futures enquêtes.

Yann LE BOHEC.

Elena ISAYEV, *Migration, Mobility and Place in Ancient Italy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2017, 25,5 × 17,5 cm, xxii-521 p., fig., 105 £, ISBN 978-1-107-13061-6.

Con esta monografía dedicada a la movilidad geográfica en Italia a lo largo del I Milenio a.C., Elena Isayev replantea con una visión renovada los desplazamientos en

la Antigüedad, en sintonía con interpretaciones recientes sobre el tema. Frente a la idea tradicional de un mundo estático dominado por la identidad autóctona de la población, la autora defiende la existencia en Italia de una sociedad dinámica y cambiante, cuyos miembros estaban en constante movimiento. El periodo estudiado habría estado caracterizado por migraciones individuales y voluntarias antes que por grandes empresas colectivas, en el marco de unos fluidos contactos interregionales ampliamente aceptados por las instituciones. Por otra parte, los gobiernos locales se ocupaban de impedir la marcha de población local más que de controlar la llegada de nuevos habitantes. Era común desplazarse de forma periódica o en distintas etapas vitales, por lo que la identidad de las personas sólo estaba difusamente ligada a la tierra de origen, lo que explica que no se observen actitudes xenófobas. Las migraciones únicamente causaban conflicto cuando trataban de subvertir las jerarquías sociales existentes, pero las redes de contactos entre miembros de las élites de distintas áreas mediterráneas solían garantizar que estas jerarquías fueran respetadas. Se trataría, por lo tanto, de un contexto muy proclive a los desplazamientos. La obra se divide en cuatro grandes bloques, el primero de los cuales (capítulos 1-2) analiza el concepto de movilidad y el posible uso estadístico de la información demográfica disponible. La segunda parte (capítulos 3-5) versa sobre las evidencias de movilidad en Italia durante los primeros siglos del I Milenio a.C., principalmente a partir de yacimientos arqueológicos y relatos mitológicos sobre la fundación de ciudades. La tercera sección (capítulos 6-8) se sirve de las obras de Plauto y Polibio para indagar sobre la realidad cotidiana de las migraciones individuales y colectivas en sus aspectos más comunes, mostrando una cotidianeidad marcada por la interacción con personas foráneas y el desarrollo de amplias redes de contactos a nivel personal y comercial. En la cuarta y última parte del libro (capítulos 9-12) se aborda la Guerra Social como un momento de confrontación entre dos modelos alternativos de organización e identidad territorial, y se analizan sus consecuencias: la ampliación de la ciudadanía romana a toda Italia y la consolidación de Roma como eje central de las instituciones y de las migraciones producidas en Italia. Asimismo, el discurso de Camilo recreado por Tito Livio y las reflexiones de Cicerón sirven para ilustrarnos sobre el surgimiento de una identidad romana global. El resto del libro está compuesto por cuatro apéndices documentales (p. 426-442) con distintas referencias a movilidad en las comedias de Plauto y una transcripción con traducción al inglés del discurso de Camilo narrado por Tito Livio, además de la bibliografía (p. 443-503) y un útil índice de términos y nombres (p. 504-521). Cuenta además con el soporte gráfico de veinticinco ilustraciones, nueve láminas y once mapas. Pasando a un análisis más detallado, el primer capítulo (p. 3-17) explica la difusa noción de fronteras existente en la Antigüedad, que favoreció una mayor permisividad con la inmigración en el ámbito mediterráneo. En el capítulo 2 (p. 18-67) se razona que los cambios de lugar de residencia en la Italia antigua pudieron haber alcanzado a la quinta parte de la población. Isayev basa sus argumentos en los testimonios literarios y epigráficos de los siglos II y I a.C., y se sirve de diversos estudios arqueológicos, para extender sus conclusiones a los siglos precedentes. El capítulo tercero (p. 71-107) analiza la idoneidad de la geografía de Italia para la interconexión de sus regiones, factor que potenció el comercio y la movilidad de la población itálica. La autora rechaza la visión de los autores clásicos, que presentan a Italia compuesta por una sucesión de grupos étnicos llegados en sucesivas migraciones colectivas, y sostiene que predominó la convivencia de grupos de población en constante transformación. Siguiendo su argumento, las comunidades itálicas no se definían por criterios étnicos sino en términos cívico-políticos, y los extranjeros podían alcanzar una gran influencia en la sociedad local, ya que existía una cultura mediterránea compartida basada en una comunidad interconectada de élites. En el apartado 4 (p. 108-138) se asimilan los procesos

migratorios de etruscos, galos y griegos para mostrar la existencia de comunidades heterogéneas en Italia. Isayev desvincula a la expansión gala en el norte de Italia del carácter violento que le atribuyen las fuentes antiguas, y cuestiona la idoneidad del concepto de “colonización” por no adecuarse al carácter continuado de la llegada de población griega a Italia. A lo largo del capítulo 5 (p. 139-187) se utilizan las evidencias arqueológicas para mostrar un proceso generalizado de concentración de la población itálica en los primeros siglos del I milenio a.C. y una tendencia posterior a la ocupación de áreas rurales desde el siglo IV a.C. La autora pone en valor los procesos de organización estatal en las áreas de cultura osca y céltica, frente al enfoque tradicional centrado en la evolución de los enclaves griegos, etruscos y romanos. El capítulo sexto (p. 191-228) se ocupa de las menciones a la movilidad en las comedias de Plauto, que alcanzaba a todos los grupos sociales. Sus personajes se desenvuelven en una sociedad multicultural y abierta a los extranjeros. En el capítulo 7 (p. 229-266) se analizan los escasos desplazamientos individuales referidos en el relato global de Polibio, que no obstante presenta la foraneidad como un aspecto secundario en el ambiente cosmopolita propio del siglo II a.C. Isayev matiza la visión del historiador griego sobre Roma como un ente aislado hasta el siglo III a.C., y enfatiza la existencia de unas consensuadas normas diplomáticas en el ámbito Mediterráneo, que fueron explotadas por las autoridades romanas para asentar su supremacía. El apartado 8 (p. 267-307) opone el ideal de Polibio de un cuerpo ciudadano homogéneo, que remite a la tradición griega, a la mayor aceptación de la diversidad observada en las ciudades itálicas, siempre abiertas a la llegada de población. El capítulo noveno (p. 311-359) presenta la Guerra Social como un conflicto entre dos modelos de organización territorial para Italia. La propuesta defendida por los *socii* en torno a la ciudad de *Corfinium*, más abierta a la autonomía local, fue derrotada por el modelo centrado en la ciudad de Roma y su hegemonía. El conflicto refleja asimismo una lucha entre élites por el acceso a recursos económicos, y su conclusión dio lugar a un realineamiento de las redes de poder locales en torno al sistema de *municipia* promovido por Roma. El décimo apartado (p. 360-394) analiza la recreación del legendario discurso de Camilo contra el traslado de Roma a *Veii*, y cómo Tito Livio buscó con este relato dar un sentido de pertenencia en torno a Roma a los numerosos ciudadanos romanos dispersos por el área itálica y mediterránea. El capítulo 11 (p. 395-418) trata la doble pertenencia territorial de Cicerón con respecto a su *patria* natal *Arpinum* y Roma, símbolo de la *patria* compartida. Esta noción vaga de Roma permitía en teoría trasladar la capitalidad del Imperio a otra ciudad (a *Veii*, *Corfinium* o *Alexandria*, según el periodo), posibilidad que Tito Livio trató de negar enfatizando el carácter inamovible de Roma en analogía con una *domus* o un *templum*. Según Isayev, la búsqueda de un mayor estatismo se reflejó en los avances cartográficos de finales de la República, que muestran el creciente interés en la representación del espacio, aunque sobre la base de un factor inherentemente móvil como eran los itinerarios. En el capítulo 12 (p. 419-425) Isayev compendia sus conclusiones principales: la existencia de una sociedad itálica caracterizada por los frecuentes desplazamientos de particulares, la progresiva evolución de los polos de atracción de esta movilidad hasta centrarse en torno a Roma, el equívoco énfasis de las fuentes escritas en los movimientos colectivos de población, y la pervivencia de una definición ambigua de territorialidad que distancia al mundo romano de la concepción espacial desarrollada en periodos históricos posteriores. En resumen, la línea argumental principal de este libro muestra la evolución de la movilidad y el sentido de pertenencia a lo largo del milenio previo al establecimiento del Imperio romano, con especial énfasis en sus siglos más recientes. Cabe destacar el empleo de fuentes principalmente literarias, que combina y contrasta con los vestigios arqueológicos, de los que la autora se sirve en mayor medida para los periodos más arcaicos. En su uso de los autores clásicos, logra

armonizar recursos muy dispares. Pone en común acertadamente elementos cotidianos de movilidad visibles en la obra de Plauto, menciones secundarias en el marco del relato político global de Polibio, y nociones sobre la espacialidad inherentes al relato de Tito Livio. Asimismo, resulta reseñable el meritorio esfuerzo de Isayev por eliminar de su análisis la percepción contemporánea de inmigración, para así lograr una visión libre de prejuicios de la movilidad inherente a la Italia antigua. Como reflexión global de su complejo análisis de un proceso prolongado a lo largo de varios siglos, la autora expone la paulatina transición desde un modelo relacional hacia una forma más absoluta de percepción del espacio. Pese a las continuidades mantenidas con respecto a épocas previas, la hegemonía romana introdujo un nuevo sentido de pertenencia que se reforzaría durante el Imperio y que a la postre marcó una ruptura frente a la visión anterior.

Alberto BARRÓN RUIZ DE LA CUESTA.

A. M. JUSTER, *The Elegies of Maximianus*. Introduction by Michael ROBERTS, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018, 23,5 × 15,5 cm, XII-223 p., 65 \$, ISBN 978-0-8122-4979-8.

Souvent considéré comme le dernier poète élégiaque de la latinité, Maximien est un poète bien mystérieux qui, en réalité, n'a pas fait l'objet de très nombreuses études, malgré un certain regain d'intérêt depuis une quinzaine d'années. Après les traductions en allemand de W. C. Schneider (2003), en français de l'auteur de cette recension (2013), en italien d'A. Franzoi (2014) et en polonais d'A. M. Wasyl (2016), voici une nouvelle traduction commentée anglaise. L'ouvrage débute par une préface dans laquelle le traducteur expose plusieurs choix éditoriaux : celui, d'abord, de se fonder sur l'ancien texte de Webster, en l'absence d'une édition à nouveaux frais – tâche pour laquelle il déclare ne pas être « the right person » – ; celui, d'autre part, de s'écarter délibérément d'une traduction littérale et – plus ambitieux – de proposer une traduction « fonctionnant comme de la poésie » : le distique élégiaque est ainsi rendu, en anglais, par une alternance d'hexamètres iambiques et de pentamètres iambiques. On ne pourra qu'acquiescer face à cette volonté de rendre compte, autant que possible, du travail poétique même ; on sera, en revanche, beaucoup plus critique s'agissant du choix assumé par le traducteur d'avoir supprimé, dans le texte latin qu'il imprime, toute ponctuation. J'ai beau avoir moi-même traduit Maximien, j'avoue ne pas être convaincu du tout par l'idée selon laquelle la suppression généralisée de la ponctuation serait de nature à redonner au texte l'état qui était le sien au sixième siècle (pour quelles raisons ? et quel était-il ?). Quant à l'idée que l'absence de ponctuation favorise opportunément les incertitudes créées par la difficulté du latin, elle me semble contre-productive : chaque spécialiste doit naturellement faire preuve de prudence dans ses assertions, d'une manière générale et sans doute plus encore dans le cas d'un poète aussi fuyant et mystérieux que Maximien ; mais il faut bien, malgré tout, prendre position et, à tout le moins, dire ce que l'on traduit (le traducteur fait d'ailleurs parfois preuve d'incohérence à ce sujet, comme on le verra plus bas). Ici, on en arrive au résultat paradoxal que c'est la traduction anglaise, elle-même ponctuée, qui permet de déterminer en retour comment A. M. Juster a ponctué, et donc compris le latin. L'introduction de M. Roberts résume, en quatorze pages, les principaux éléments généraux concernant le poète et son œuvre : des éléments sur son identité et sa datation controversées (même si la datation proposée par C. Ratkowitsch, qui est d'avis que Maximien a vécu au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle, n'a que peu convaincu), et sur le rôle paradoxal de Boèce dans la troisième élégie (qui d'abord exhorte Maximien à vivre pleinement son amour pour la jeune Aquilina, avant de le féliciter d'avoir su renoncer à son désir), puis une analyse rapide des différentes élégies, des thèmes principaux (notamment la *mentula*,

dans la pièce 5, et la mort), avant d'en venir à des remarques concernant les genres littéraires, notamment sur la remise en cause des canons élégiaques et l'influence d'autres genres, tels que la satire, la comédie ou le mime, pour conclure sur les interprétations très divergentes dont l'œuvre a fait l'objet. Tout cela est mené de manière classique et claire, en une synthèse efficace des travaux antérieurs de la critique. En revanche, la demi-page consacrée à l'*Appendix Maximiani* est décevante et très insuffisante pour présenter la variété et, dans plus d'un cas, la richesse d'un petit corpus qui mérite l'attention des spécialistes de la poésie latine tardive. La traduction est globalement intéressante, même si certaines de ses subtilités échappent forcément à un non-anglophone et même si plusieurs détails sont discutables ou erronés, comme on le verra plus bas. En outre, les contraintes créées par le choix d'un mètre déterminé dans la traduction anglaise ne permettent pas au traducteur, à plusieurs reprises, de respecter l'ordre des mots et les disjonctions expressives (comme, par exemple, en *El.* 5, 99-100, pour les deux occurrences de la séquence *nempe iaces*, qui se trouve très expressivement aux deux extrémités du distique en latin, ce que la traduction anglaise ne respecte malheureusement pas). On remarque avec plaisir, en revanche, un travail mené sur le rythme de la traduction. Le commentaire qui suit est le premier en anglais depuis l'édition Webster de 1900. De manière très ostensible, pour ne pas dire systématique, l'auteur s'y attache à résumer, souvent efficacement d'ailleurs, les positions des différents spécialistes de Maximien qui l'ont précédé et à leur « distribuer » des bons et des mauvais points, sans toujours apporter beaucoup de neuf. En ce sens, le commentaire est plus une synthèse, au demeurant informée, de ce qui s'est dit jusqu'en 2018 sur Maximien qu'un travail toujours neuf et vraiment original. Du moins a-t-il le mérite d'être assez complet et d'offrir un bon tour d'horizon. Dans le détail, l'auteur m'adresse plusieurs satisfecit et reprend mes analyses ou mes hypothèses en de nombreuses occasions (par exemple à propos de 1, 36 p. 114, à propos de 2, 35 p. 152, à propos de 3, 11 p. 158, à propos de *App. Max.* 3, 22-23 et de l'expression *instante ruina*, qui renvoie à 1, 171 : *non secus instantem cupiens fulcire ruinam*). Il m'adresse aussi plusieurs critiques : si certaines me semblent légitimes et fondées (notamment à propos de 5, 122 p. 193, et d'un rapprochement avec Tib. 1, 2, 31-34, dont je reconnais volontiers qu'il ne s'impose pas avec évidence), je reste en désaccord sur plusieurs points que je voudrais brièvement lister. (1) À propos de 1, 110, p. 125, je traduis le texte *nec patitur certa currere quemque uia* (en remplaçant le *quaeque* soutenu par Webster et Baehrens par *quemque* présent dans un manuscrit). Juster maintient *quaeque* et pourtant traduit le texte exactement comme moi (Juster : « and lets nobody run a certain route » ; Goldlust : « et ne laisse personne parcourir une route sûre »), tout en notant que le texte que je traduis est « syntactically problematic ». En réalité, ce qui semble problématique est de faire du neutre *quaeque* le sujet du verbe de mouvement *currere* et de le traduire par « nobody »... (2) À propos de 1, 142, p. 129, une contre-vérité : Juster note que je défends la conjecture de Baehrens *ceu*, au lieu de la leçon majoritairement transmise (*heu*), alors que j'écris dans mon édition, p. 136 : « Nous ne suivons pas la conjecture de Baehrens (*ceu*) et suivons la majorité des manuscrits (*heu*) » (*sic*), et que je traduis *heu* par « hélas » ! L'auteur m'a donc lu de travers. (3) À propos de 3, 60 (*pone metum, ueniam uis tibi tanta dabit*), p. 165, Juster me reproche un rapprochement avec [Tib.] 3, 10, 15 (*pone metum, Cerinthe: deus non laedit amantes*). S'agissant de la même séquence, en même position métrique à l'attaque du vers, il me semble injustifié – malgré un certain nombre de souvenirs ovidiens en parallèle (*Ars Am.* 1, 555, *Fast.* 2, 759, *Her.* 20, 1, *Met.* 3, 633 et 5, 221), que j'aurais dû mentionner, il est vrai – d'affirmer qu'un souvenir de [Tib.] 3, 10, 15 est « highly unlikely ». Si l'*Appendix Tibulliana* n'est évidemment pas aussi présente qu'Ovide dans la mémoire littéraire de Maximien, ce que je n'ai au demeurant nullement prétendu, il reste qu'il



s'agit d'un corpus élégiaque que Maximien ne peut pas ne pas avoir fréquenté, ne fût-ce qu'indirectement par l'intermédiaire de la tradition scolaire. Il en est d'ailleurs de même pour Properce. À ne pas vouloir accorder trop d'importance au corpus tibullien dans l'esprit de Maximien, Juster me semble d'ailleurs finir par le sous-estimer. (4) À propos de 4, 55-56, p. 178 (*hoc etiam meminisse licet, quod senior aetas / intulit, et gemitus quos mihi laeta dedit*), un distique dont le texte n'est pas certain, Juster ne souscrit pas à la correction de *laeta* en *lenta*, que j'avais retenue après Spaltenstein, ce qui est parfaitement possible. Mais ce qui pose problème est bien la traduction de Juster : même si l'on donne à *laetus* le sens de « nombreux » (« numerous » dans la traduction anglaise), ce qui ne va déjà pas de soi, je ne vois décemment pas comment l'on peut faire de *laeta* l'épithète de *gemitus* et traduire « One may remember this as well : that older age / produced and gave me numerous laments ». Il n'est pas du tout évident que le *quod* soit complétif (j'y vois, pour ma part, un relatif) ; en revanche, il est tout à fait évident que faire de *laeta* l'épithète de *gemitus* relève du contre-sens grammatical. Schneider, qui imprime le même texte que Juster, construit correctement et traduit « Auch was das spätere Alter einbrachte, sei vergönnt zu berichten, / und zwar die Seufzer, die mir das heitere eingab », où le choix de rendre *gemitus* par « Seufzer » peut expliquer le maintien de *laeta*, même si je préfère la correction *lenta*. L'ouvrage, qui est globalement bien présenté (attention, cependant, à la note sur 4, 48, p. 176, à un problème de typographie : la parenthèse fermante après 2013 a été remplacée par un « 0 », ce qui rend la phrase difficile à comprendre, et à une erreur de date p. 187, où il faut lire « Goldlust 2013 », et non « Goldlust 1983 »), s'achève sur une bibliographie utile, p. 211-223, comportant quelques coquilles affectant les termes non-anglophones (par exemple, p. 220, « narratif », et non « narrative », et déjà, p. 172, « déchirait », et non « dechirait »). Le traducteur n'est enfin pas dénué d'humour, qui fait allusion, p. 200, au titre de Paul Mac Cartney et de Stevie Wonder « Ebonie and Ivory », à propos de *App. Max.* 1, 10... Pour redevenir plus sérieux et conclure, cette traduction laisse une impression un peu mêlée, les heurieuses trouvailles concernant le rythme de la traduction anglaise et la richesse des informations synthétisées dans le commentaire étant obscurcies par des erreurs ponctuelles et par l'absence de ponctuation du texte latin, que je considère comme une incohérence, dès lors qu'il faut bien traduire.

Benjamin GOLDLUST.

Virginie LEROUX / Émilie SÉRIS (ed.), *Théories poétiques néo-latines*, Genève, Droz, 2018 (Texte courant, 6), 19 × 12 cm, LVIII-1166 p., 18,90 €, ISBN 978-2-600-05829-2.

À partir de la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, la poésie a fait l'objet d'une vive défense de la part des humanistes en réponse aux attaques des théologiens scolastiques. L'enjeu de cette défense de la discipline était de lui accorder une place spécifique au sein du champ des savoirs. Ce processus de légitimation de la poésie a abouti à l'élaboration d'une véritable théorie poétique dans les divers écrits des humanistes, puis au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle à la parution d'une série de traités poétiques à part entière. C'est au cœur de ces écrits et de ces traités (rédigés en langue latine) que nous plonge l'anthologie de V. Leroux et E. Sérís, qui offrent à leurs lecteurs une vue d'ensemble sur les différentes questions et les différents débats auxquels les humanistes ont été confrontés dans leur défense de la poésie. En outre, cette étude complète également, sur certains points, l'état de l'art dans le domaine des poétiques de la Renaissance. L'ouvrage se découpe en cinq chapitres abordant chacun une thématique judicieusement choisie en raison de son importante représentation dans une grande majorité des arts poétiques néo-latins de la Renaissance. Chaque chapitre est à son tour divisé en deux parties : s'y trouvent d'une part une introduction à la thématique spécifique et d'autre part une série d'extraits représentatifs provenant de divers



traités de poétique (par exemple, ceux de Boccace, Ficini, Vida, Landino, Fonzio, Pontano, Scaliger, Minturno,...) couvrant la période allant du XIV<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. De plus, ces extraits sont accompagnés d'un commentaire introductif et d'une nouvelle traduction française élaborée collectivement pour cette anthologie et dont la clarté facilite l'accès direct aux sources néo-latines pour les lecteurs. Ce choix d'une structure thématique pour cette étude assez volumineuse (plus d'un millier de pages) ainsi que l'agencement bipartite de chaque chapitre en permettent une consultation aussi aisée qu'agréable. Le premier chapitre détaille précisément les différents arguments avancés dans les premières poétiques en faveur de la légitimité de la poésie. Parmi ceux-ci figurent entre autres : la vertu éducative de la poésie, qui peut s'étendre jusqu'aux domaines social et politique, sa visée morale, mais aussi son éventuelle autorité religieuse. De fait, afin de répondre aux attaques des scolastiques, les humanistes ont souligné la dimension divine déjà conférée par les Anciens à la poésie, notamment en qualifiant le poète de démiurge et en comparant la création poétique à la création divine. Le deuxième chapitre de l'anthologie est consacré à l'inspiration poétique. À la Renaissance, le motif du poète inspiré fut repris dans une double perspective : mettre l'accent sur la personne du poète et souligner l'importance de la poésie dans la hiérarchie des disciplines. Nous y retrouvons la dimension divine de la poésie puisque les poètes antiques plaçaient leur inspiration sous l'égide de certaines divinités, principalement les Muses ou Apollon. Cependant, les humanistes ne rejetaient pas pour autant la part du talent inné des poètes. De fait, ils se sont également intéressés aux conditions favorisant le jaillissement de l'inspiration, telles que des prédispositions physiologiques ou des conjonctures astrologiques. Ce fut le cas par exemple de Marsile Ficini qui, en plus de la théorie du *furor* poétique, s'est aussi référé à la théorie médicale des quatre humeurs. Le troisième chapitre traite de la question de l'imitation, à laquelle Aristote a accordé une place centrale dans sa *Poétique*. V. Leroux et E. Sérís exposent dans l'introduction de cette section les principes des trois types d'imitation possibles (et non-exclusifs) : l'imitation platonicienne, l'imitation aristotélicienne (ou *mimêsis*) et l'imitation littéraire. Or qui dit imitation dit évidemment modèle. Mais quel(s) modèle(s) ? Cette question fut à l'origine d'un des débats dominants chez les humanistes de la Renaissance. Une autre réflexion que suscite la question de l'imitation et que les auteurs abordent dans ce chapitre est celle du rapport de la poésie au vrai. C'est la classification générique qui est au cœur du quatrième chapitre de cette anthologie. La Renaissance fut l'époque du développement des théories des genres sur base des ébauches de genres littéraires léguées par l'Antiquité. Il s'agissait pour les humanistes de déterminer quels critères devaient être pris en compte pour établir cette classification générique : le mètre, la matière, le mode, ... ? Les interrogations humanistes portaient donc sur la taxinomie générique mais aussi sur une hiérarchie possible des genres. Ainsi l'épopée, par exemple, fut longtemps considérée comme le genre supérieur. Quant à la cinquième et dernière partie de cet ouvrage, elle est consacrée à la place de la poésie dans la classification du savoir ainsi qu'aux rapports qu'elle entretient avec les autres arts. À partir du moment où la poétique s'est constituée comme discipline à part entière et autonome, les humanistes se sont retrouvés confrontés à la difficulté de la classer par rapport aux autres arts et disciplines. Cette difficulté provenait d'une part du fait que, dans la classification antique des savoirs, la poésie était seulement une sous-partie de la grammaire, et d'autre part du fait que, par sa nature double, la poésie pouvait relever à la fois de la grammaire (par les mots) mais aussi de la musique (par son rythme). La suite du chapitre traite également des liens de la poésie avec d'autres disciplines comme la théologie, la rhétorique mais aussi la peinture et l'histoire. En fin de volume, une bibliographie très riche mais, comme l'annoncent V. Leroux et E. Sérís, « limitée aux éditions humanistes et aux ouvrages critiques concernant la théorie poétique

de la Renaissance » ainsi que deux index (des noms et des notions) viennent compléter cette anthologie qui va bientôt constituer le nouveau livre de chevet de nombreux néo-latinistes.

Margaux DUSAUSOIT.

Gesine MANUWALD, *Cicero: Agrarian Speeches. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2018, 24 × 16 cm, liv-480 p., 110 £, ISBN 978-0-19-871540-5.

Le orazioni contro la proposta di riforma agraria del tribuno della plebe P. Servilio Rullo, pronunciate da Cicerone appena eletto console, hanno suscitato e suscitano un particolare interesse da più punti di vista. La proposta di legge agraria di Rullo, pur se conosciuta attraverso la non imparziale testimonianza ciceroniana, permette infatti di comprendere alcuni dei meccanismi economici e sociali della tarda repubblica romana; inoltre, come osserva Gesine Manuwald nella sua prefazione, “in the *Agrarian Speeches* Cicero presents himself and his programme for the year to the two main bodies of the Senate and a meeting of the People; moreover, by clever oratory he manages to dissuade the audiences from accepting an agrarian bill that might have been advantageous for some of them” (*Preface*, p. v). In un periodo in cui gli studi (e a quelli menzionati nel volume di Manuwald aggiungerei almeno i saggi raccolti in C. Steel / H. van der Blom (ed.), *Community and Communication: Oratory and Politics in Republican Roma*, Oxford, 2013) manifestano un rinnovato interesse per l’oratoria politica e in special modo per la funzione della comunicazione nella costruzione del consenso, “it is high time for Cicero’s *Agrarian Speeches* to find a wider readership” (*Preface*, *ibidem*). Il lavoro di Manuwald raggiunge senz’altro questo scopo riproponendo il testo con a fronte una moderna traduzione inglese e un commento che si sofferma su “textual and linguistic difficulties, the rhetorical and argumentative structure as well as the historical context since all these aspects, often considered separately, should be looked at together for a full appreciation of these speeches” (*Introduction*, p. x). In effetti già l’*Introduction* (p. ix-liv) è strutturata in modo da offrire al lettore alcuni strumenti per un’interpretazione il più possibile complessiva del testo ciceroniano: dopo un brevissimo primo capitolo dedicato al rendiconto degli studi che in vario modo e da vari punti di vista hanno preso in considerazione le orazioni *De lege agraria* (ma altri e numerosi riferimenti bibliografici si trovano in tutte le note dell’*Introduction*, nel *Commentary*, oltre che, evidentemente, nella *Bibliography* finale), l’autrice affronta in un secondo capitolo l’“historical background” delle orazioni, ovvero la situazione politica degli anni 64/63 a.C. (§ 2.1); le proposte di leggi agrarie nella Repubblica precedenti e seguenti quella di Rullo (insieme alle prese di posizione espresse da Cicerone in altre sue opere su alcune di queste proposte e più in generale sull’idea di riforma agraria: § 2.2.1); quindi, più specificatamente, la legge di Rullo (§ 2.2.2), con i probabili motivi della sua proposta (“one might say that the bill included the reasonable elements of genuine social reform while it would also benefit the men promoting it”: p. xxviii) e il contesto procedurale dell’*iter* legislativo con particolare attenzione al ruolo giocato dalle *contiones* (§ 2.3). Il capitolo si conclude (§ 2.4) con un breve accenno a una possibile interpretazione delle orazioni *De lege agraria* nel contesto della politica ciceroniana nell’anno del consolato: “Cicero [...] subscribed to an ideal of *concordia ordinum* and *consensus omnium bonorum*, according to which all good citizens, irrespective of position and background, should work together to support the Republic. [...] Cicero managed to demonstrate both his opposition to Rullus’ proposal and his alternative positive programme as something that could be attractive to various groups in the Republic; he thereby avoided appearing as a partisan supporter of individual groups at the start of his term of office” (p. xxxix).

Segue un terzo capitolo dedicato all'analisi del *corpus* delle orazioni *De lege agraria* di cui si considera: l'origine del titolo, la struttura e la datazione (§ 3.1); il problema della loro pubblicazione e del rapporto fra testo pronunciato e testo pubblicato (§ 3.2) e infine la strategia retorica e politica messa in atto dall'oratore (§ 3.3). Manuwald trae la conclusione generale, senz'altro condivisibile, che "Cicero does not present the controversy as a dispute about an individual political issue, but rather styles his intervention as opposition to plans affecting the basis of the Republic and developed by disreputable individuals, who are selfish and do not care for the common welfare. Cicero therefore creates an opposition between all of 'us', the good citizens, and the single threatening individuals": (p. xlv). È ben noto che alla fine della prima orazione e all'inizio della seconda Cicerone proclama di essere un console *ueritate, non ostentatione popularis* e per questo capace di sventare i piani di Rullo e di chi con lui, proponendo una legge agraria, si finge *popularis* ma vuole in realtà sovvertire la *Res Publica* (*De leg. agr.* 1.23; 2.6-10). La definizione di ciò che sarebbe veramente *popularis* cambia leggermente fra un'orazione e l'altra (ad esempio in *De leg. agr.* 1.23 si menzionano come valori desiderati dal popolo *pax, concordia e otium* mentre in 2.9 *pax, libertas e otium*), anche se, come osserva Manuwald, "it is more a matter of nuances". Infatti "if *popularis* is understood as benefitting the People, it will become so broad a term that Cicero can state this position in the Senate without immediately provoking opposition" in quanto "his programme will maintain and restore the fundamental features of the Roman Republic" (p. xlvii), mentre il programma di riforma agraria di Rullo sovvertirebbe i tradizionali valori e ordinamenti repubblicani. Cicerone cerca così di guadagnarsi "the support of both the Senate and the People: [...] he assumes unity between both groups, presents himself as a consul for all and promises to restore the Senate's traditional position and ensure peace, liberty and tranquillity for the people" (p. xlix). Queste conclusioni di Manuwald si basano su quei passi delle orazioni *De lege agraria* in cui Cicerone esplicita il suo programma ideologico e politico riconoscendo la legittimità della posizione *popularis* in quanto i diritti del popolo fanno ormai parte dei *fundamenta* della *Res Publica*, ma allo stesso tempo tentando di ridefinire lui stesso i contenuti di questa posizione in modo da smorzare la carica eversiva (si veda a questo proposito il recente contributo di G. Clemente, *Cicerone e i populares: l'ambigua lezione della storia*, in M. Maiuro et al. (ed.), *Uomini, Istituzioni, Mercati. Studi di storia per Elio Lo Cascio*, Bari, 2019, p. 35-49). Si potrebbe però formulare qualche considerazione in più su ciò che l'uditorio dovesse intendere come *popularis*, prima e oltre la definizione ciceroniana, riflettendo sulle differenze (anche solo di diversa rilevanza) che intercorrono nella trattazione di temi specifici fra la prima e la seconda orazione *De lege agraria*, quali, ad esempio, la presunta inclusione dell'Egitto fra i possedimenti del popolo romano: *De leg. agr.* 1.1, 2.41-44; il danno che la legge agraria recherebbe a Pompeo: *De leg. agr.* 1.6, 13, 2.49-55; l'assegnazione di terre in Campania: *De leg. agr.* 1.18-22, 2.76-97; il problema dei possedimenti ottenuti dalle proscrizioni sillane: *De leg. agr.* 1.14-15, 2.68-70, etc. Tali differenze sono tutte puntualmente evidenziate da Manuwald nel *Commentary*, ma senza soffermarsi troppo su un loro confronto che potrebbe invece aiutare a comprendere, proprio attraverso le scelte oratorie compiute da Cicerone, i reali interessi dei membri del senato o invece della *contio* negli ultimi decenni della repubblica. Il quarto e ultimo paragrafo conclude l'introduzione fornendo alcune indicazioni sul testo latino e sulla traduzione forniti dall'autrice. Anche solo da questa brevissima panoramica, risulta evidente che le problematiche affrontate sono molteplici, rilevanti, e oggetto di dibattiti sicuramente non esauribili in una introduzione; ma, al di là della condivisione o meno delle varie ipotesi interpretative sostenute dall'autrice, dobbiamo osservare che nell'*Introduction* (e anche nel *Commentary*) i problemi e i termini delle questioni, con relativa bibliografia, sono

impostati e illustrati con precisione e acutezza in modo da fornire al lettore un utile strumento per ogni ulteriore discussione e/o approfondimento. All'*Introduction* seguono i *Testimonia* (menzioni o frammenti delle orazioni *De lege agraria* contenuti in altre opere di Cicerone o in testi di altri autori antichi) e poi il testo delle tre orazioni con a fronte un'accurata traduzione inglese. Il testo latino di riferimento è quello dell'edizione Teubner (V. Marek, Leipzig, 1983) rivisto e in alcuni punti modificato dall'autrice che fornisce un apparato critico "selettivo" con la lezione dei manoscritti ed eventuali proposte di emendamento solo per i passi di più difficile lettura e/o comprensione. Nel *Commentary* Manuwald sostiene le sue scelte, orientate per lo più alla conservazione del testo tràdito, con motivazioni puntuali e plausibili, anche se allo stesso tempo evidentemente passibili di discussione, in quanto riguardano punti che presentano oggettive difficoltà di interpretazione. Così, per fare un solo esempio, conservare come fa Manuwald la lezione dei codici *deductos* in *De leg. agr.* 2.65 (*Quirites, non esse hanc nobis a maioribus relictam consuetudinem ut emanatur agri a priuatis quo plebes publice deducatur; omnibus legibus agris publicis priuatos esse deductos*), intendendo *deducere* non solo nella prima ma anche nella seconda occorrenza nel significato di "to settle" (cfr. *Commentary*, p. 328), mi pare che faccia difficoltà non solo per la costruzione con l'ablativo semplice *agris publicis*, ma anche per il significato dell'intero periodo per il quale appare senz'altro più economico accogliere la congettura *deiectos* (proposta da A. C. Clark, Oxford, 1909). A meno di non intendere *deductos*, come ammette se pur dubitativamente l'autrice, "in a harsh transition" nel significato di "lead away from" costruito con l'ablativo di separazione *agris publicis* (*Commentary*, *ibidem*). Del *Commentary* abbiamo in parte già parlato. Oltre quanto finora osservato, risulta di grande utilità il fatto che ogni singola orazione sia preceduta da una breve specifica *Introduction* e da un *Outline of structure and contents* in cui vengono individuate e intitolate le varie sezioni del testo a seconda degli argomenti trattati; tali argomenti vengono inoltre brevemente esplicitati nel corso del *Commentary* all'inizio di ogni sezione in modo che il lettore sia aiutato a seguire meglio lo svolgimento dell'argomentazione ciceroniana. Non è invece d'aiuto il fatto che per i riferimenti interni al *Commentary* l'autrice indichi solo il numero del paragrafo dell'orazione (il cui commento può svolgersi in più pagine) e non il lemma specifico a cui vuole rimandare. Nelle singole note l'autrice si sofferma non solo sui problemi sollevati dalla tradizione (vd. ad es. *supra*) o dall'interpretazione del testo (vd. ad es. il commento a *De leg. agr.* 1.12-13 e 2.59, p. 144-149 e 318-319 sulla consegna del bottino di guerra ai decemviri, o a *De leg. agr.* 1.9, p. 139 sul loro *imperium*, etc.) o ancora dal riferimento a eventi il cui svolgimento è ancora discusso (ad esempio il testamento del re di Egitto in *De leg. agr.* 1.1 e 2.41-44 su cui si vedano le p. 118-120 e 284-291), ma fornisce anche spiegazioni elementari riguardo a personaggi, luoghi, fatti e forme istituzionali di Roma antica (ad esempio a p. 157 definendo e distinguendo fra *municipium* e *colonia* a proposito di *De leg. agr.* 1.17). In ambedue i casi non mancano riferimenti alle fonti antiche e agli studi moderni, che siano enciclopedie o manuali per le spiegazioni più semplici, o invece studi specifici sui passi più dibattuti. Delle fonti antiche, come è ovvio che accada in un commento, spesso non si riporta il testo e tantomeno lo si contestualizza; forse lo si poteva fare di più nel caso che il riferimento fosse interno all'opera ciceroniana, come, per fare un solo esempio, nel commento al vocabolo *largitio* in *De leg. agr.* 1.4, p. 128-129 e in 2.10, p. 205-206. L'autrice osserva giustamente che "*largitio* [...] tends to be negative in Cicero" (p. 206) rimandando a vari passi ciceroniani, fra cui *De off.* 2.54-55 e 72 che non sono però riportati e che avrebbero invece aiutato a comprendere come Cicerone con la parola *largitio* potesse evocare nell'uditorio l'idea di una liberalità che sfociava in corruzione, che più volte aveva portato alla rovina dei patrimoni e che, nel caso della proposta di Rullo, avrebbe

portato alla rovina proprio il “patrimonio” del popolo romano. Da apprezzare comunque in generale l’analisi filologica e retorica delle orazioni che, come l’autrice aveva promesso nell’introduzione, non è fine a sé stessa ma aiuta a delineare il pensiero politico ciceroniano. Un solo esempio: in *De leg. agr.* 2.14 Cicerone sostiene che non esiste un’opposizione naturale e necessaria fra consolato e tribunato della plebe *quia persaepe seditiosis atque improbis tribunis plebis boni et fortes consules obstiterunt, et quia uis tribunicia non numquam libidini restitit consulari*. Da una precisa analisi filologica e retorica del passo, Manuwald acutamente conclude che “Such a wording insinuates that usually the Tribunes of the People cause problems [...]. Thereby the contrast between *improbi* and *boni* [...] is referred to Tribunes of the People and consuls” (p. 218). Una ricca *Bibliography* e gli *Indexes* dei nomi di persona, di luogo e delle tematiche più rilevanti menzionati nell’*Introduction* e nel *Commentary* chiudono questo volume che per l’ampiezza e la completezza delle problematiche affrontate costituisce un prezioso contributo allo studio delle orazioni *De lege agraria*.  
Francesca FONTANELLA.

Juan MARTOS / Rosario MORENO SOLDEVILA, *La tradición erótica en la poesía latina tardía*, Nordhausen, Traugott Bautz, 2017 (*Studia Classica et Mediaevalia*, 17), 23 × 16 cm, 298 p., 34 €, ISBN 978-3-95948-278-3.

L’idée de ce volume est séduisante ; comme le rappellent les éditeurs dans leur introduction (p. 7-11), il s’inscrit dans une série de travaux sur la poétique amoureuse qui a vu paraître le *Diccionario de motivos amorios en la literatura latina* (R. Moreno Soldevila (ed.), Huelva, 2011) et le volume *Amor y sexo en la literatura latina* (R. Moreno Soldevila / J. Martos (ed.), Huelva, 2014). Ce volume-ci est le fruit d’un colloque tenu à Séville en 2015, et explore la thématique amoureuse dans la période tardive de la poésie latine, en approfondissant la dialectique tradition / innovation, si importante en littérature antique. Il faut noter que nous n’avons pas d’équivalent pour la période classique de la poésie latine (la matière serait d’ailleurs immense). On pourrait toutefois regretter que l’ensemble laisse une impression de disparité, à plusieurs niveaux : la thématique « érotique », très large et non définie, demeure un peu lâche, sans qu’on puisse faire une réelle synthèse ; les contributions hésitent parfois entre recherche et vulgarisation ; la fourchette chronologique est également très (trop ?) large (plus de quatre siècles) ; les genres littéraires sont variés, ce qui certainement enrichit le volume, mais le prive aussi de fil directeur clair. Au final, nous avons une suite de huit textes, sur autant d’auteurs et de corpus différents, classés chronologiquement, et sans réel lien entre eux. S’il y a encore beaucoup à dire sur le sujet, l’ensemble demeure agréable à lire, et pourra promouvoir des textes moins connus que ceux de la période classique. R. Moreno Soldevila (« El amor y la edad en las *Églogas* de Nemesiano », p. 13-35) étudie la thématique amoureuse dans trois des quatre *Bucoliques* de Némésien (III<sup>e</sup> siècle), et souligne les relations qu’elles entretiennent avec d’autres genres littéraires. Si le début de la première *Bucolique*, fortement marqué par la dixième *Églogue* de Virgile, crée un lien programmatique entre jeunesse, amour et poésie, la seconde forme un chant amébé où s’épanchent deux jeunes bergers amoureux de la même fille (par imitation de Calpurnius, *Buc.* 2) ; son prologue est marqué par divers échos génériques, comme l’éducation sentimentale, thème du roman pastoral, ou la perte de la virginité, qui renvoie à Catulle ou à Ovide. Dans la quatrième *Bucolique*, autre chant amébé, Lycidas chante son amour pour un garçon : au-delà de l’intertexte tibullien, le *furor* amoureux renvoie à l’élégie, de même que l’érotodidaxis, alors que le thème de la future pilosité de l’aimé renvoie plutôt à l’épigramme grecque et latine. En conclusion, l’auteur souligne l’originalité de Némésien dans sa capacité à mêler des motifs amoureux issus de différents genres

littéraires – une qualité qu'on lui a souvent refusée – et la finesse psychologique, dans un jeu présent / passé, où les amours malheureuses deviennent des souvenirs heureux. S. Mattiacci (« Le prefazioni della *Bissula* di Ausonio: nuove strategie difensive per una raccolta di versi leggeri (ed erotici) », p. 37-59) s'intéresse aux préfaces de la *Bissula* d'Ausone, recueil épigrammatique incomplet sur une jeune esclave souabe. Pour la préface en prose, elle analyse les postures du poète : réticence à publier son ouvrage, modestie à travers le terme *poematia*, mise en valeur du dédicataire Axius Paulus, et elle rejette la lecture crypto-priapique de Drägnér. Pour la première préface en vers, elle souligne l'auto-représentation du *lusus* poétique, par souvenir catullien, et les agaceries adressées au même destinataire, à travers un lexique qui rappelle celui de la comédie. Quant à la seconde préface en vers (originellement dans une *Lettre* d'Ausone, p. 39), elle est faite d'échos bien connus à Martial (1,4) et aux *Priapées* (1), et définit également l'œuvre comme *libellus* et *schedium* (improvisation). S'il est toujours plus question de posture auctoriale que de thématique amoureuse, on peut retenir l'analyse de la référence aux songes, dans cette dernière préface, comme prudence de l'auteur et dissociation de sa projection littéraire. Noter que la traduction en français de ce même texte est parue sous le titre *Le ténus libellus pour Bissula d'Ausone : rhétorique du « petit » et de l'« improvisation » pour un cycle de vers compromettants*, in D. Meyer / C. Urlacher-Becht (ed.), *La rhétorique du « petit » dans l'épigramme grecque et latine*, Paris, 2018, p. 205-222 (voir les p. 864-867 de ce fascicule). L'article de G. Laguna Mariscal (« Erotismo de aparato: la temática amorosa en la poesía epitalámica de Claudiano », p. 61-95) commence par une introduction à l'œuvre de Claudien et son contexte historique qui sera utile à ceux qui ne connaissent pas ce poète (p. 61-70) (il faudrait ajouter à la bibliographie l'ouvrage de M.-F. Guipponi-Gineste, *Claudien, poète du monde à la cour d'Occident*, Paris, 2010). Il se poursuit par la lecture suivie des thématiques amoureuses dans l'*Épithalame* d'Honorius (10) (p. 72-82), avec les principaux échos intertextuels (surtout ceux de Stace), puis une lecture des quatre poèmes fescennins composés pour la même occasion (p. 83-88). Si les analyses sont brèves, les conclusions sont intéressantes ; l'auteur s'interroge sur le rôle des référents mythologiques pour des noces chrétiennes ; au-delà des éléments littéraires convenus, il faut y voir une volonté de se rattacher à d'anciennes traditions romaines, littéraires mais aussi sociétales, afin de légitimer tant l'empereur Honorius que son beau-père Stilichon. Il y a donc ici des intentions de propagande politique immédiate qu'on ne trouve pas ailleurs dans la tradition de l'épithalame latin. F. Socas (« Realidad y simbología de la rosa en algunos poemas de la *Anthologia Latina* », p. 97-141), à qui l'on doit l'unique traduction en langue moderne des deux volumes de l'*Anthologie Latine* par Riese (Madrid, 2011), commence son article par un rappel des symboliques de la rose en littérature gréco-latine (p. 97-111). Il présente ensuite une série de textes tardifs mettant en scène la rose, issus de l'*Anthologie de Saumaise* ou d'ailleurs, dans l'ordre : p. 102 : Dracontius, *De origine rosarum* (cf. maintenant A. Stoehr-Monjou, *Une épigramme étiologique et érotique de la latinité tardive : Dracontius, De origine rosarum*, in H. Vial (ed.), *Vénus-Aphrodite et ses enfants : une mère problématique*, Paris, 2014, p. 153-171) ; p. 112 : AL 2 R (*Amans amanti*) ; p. 114-119 : la séquence AL 84-87 R ; p. 120-122 : AL 200,13-26 R (*Peruigilium Veneris*) ; p. 123-124 et 126 : AL 286,45 R (*Énigmes de Symphosius*) ; cf. aussi T. J. Leary, *Symphosius, The Aenigmata: An introduction, Text and Commentary*, London / New York, 2014) ; p. 125 : Dracontius, *Rom.* 7,49-54 ; p. 127 : AL 481, 34 R (*Énigmes de Berne*) ; p. 128 : CLE 1040,1-4 ; p. 129 : AL 356 R (Luxorius) ; p. 130 : AL 34 et 20 R (cf. D. Vallat, *Entre érotisme, symbolisme et poétique des ruines : les ecphrasis de Vénus dans l'Anthologie Latine* (20, 34, 356 R), in F. Garambois / D. Vallat (ed.), *Le lierre et la statue. La nature et son espace littéraire dans l'épigramme gréco-latine*



*tardive*, Saint-Étienne, 2013, p. 83-104) ; p. 131 : *AL* 390 R ; p. 132 : *AL* 366 R (Luxorius) ; p. 133-134 : une épigramme que Burmann (5,217) a empruntée au commentaire de De La Cerda à Virgile ; enfin quelques textes médiévaux et plus récents. H. Kaufmann, (« Images of Love in Dracontius », p. 143-160) répertorie les différentes formes d'amour chez Dracontius selon un classement par acteur et/ou type d'amour : l'amour parent / enfant (en particulier dans l'*Orestie* et *Romul.* 8) ; l'amour « romantique », qu'en fait on peut classer avec le premier type, car il est question du topos de la tigresse privée de ses petits (*Romul.* 8 et précédents littéraires) ; le désir sexuel sous divers aspects, dont l'adultère (*Orest.* ; *Rom.* 6, 9, 10) ; les amours contre-nature (différences d'âge ; inceste) ; l'amour-amitié avec le duo Oreste-Pylade (qui possède d'ailleurs une longue tradition littéraire à peine esquissée ici) ; l'amour entre Dieu et les hommes (*Laud. Dei*) ; l'amour pour des concepts abstraits comme la gloire ou la liberté ; l'amour comme principe universel (*Romul.* 10). M. Librán Moreno (« La multiplicidad genérica de *Aegritudo Perdicae* a la luz de la literatura griega », p. 161-200) émet des hypothèses fort intéressantes sur les sources premières de l'*Aegritudo Perdicae*, poème anonyme peut-être contemporain de Dracontius, à savoir les précédents grecs de cette histoire d'un jeune homme qui, par vengeance de Vénus, tombe amoureux en rêve d'une femme qui se révèle être sa mère (qu'il ne connaissait pas), et qui préfère se suicider pour tuer l'Amour avec lui. Sans prétendre que ces références ont été les sources directes du poète, l'auteur retrouve le schéma de cette histoire dans celle d'Antiochos et Stratonice, qui a connu diverses variantes dans les personnages jusqu'à Lucien. Elle étudie ensuite des échos entre la poésie hellénistique et l'*Aegritudo* (en particulier des schémas et motifs issus des *Argonautiques* d'Apollonios de Rhodes), suppose l'existence d'un poème épique à sujet macédonien (peut-être un de ceux – perdus – écrits par Aratos de Soles), souligne le rôle des compilations d'histoires (comme celle de Parthénios de Nicée) dans la transmission des sujets poétiques de Grèce à Rome, et interroge la dimension proprement tragique du poème (avec l'influence de l'*Hippolyte* d'Euripide) : s'il est peu probable que les textes grecs aient été connus dans la Carthage vandale, ils ont malgré tout pu influencer le poète anonyme via des intermédiaires latins. J. Martos (« Arte y pornografía en los epigramas de Enodio: Pasífae y el toro », p. 201-212) présente les épigrammes d'Ennode consacrées au fameux épisode de Pasiphaé et du taureau, principalement des ecphrasis (2,25-29-30-31) où se retrouve le topos de l'art qui anime les figures, mais aussi l'épigramme 2,103, analysée en détail, la seule où des problèmes de transmission textuelle rendent l'interprétation délicate. J. L. Arcaz Pozo (« El relato de los amores de Maximiano y el código de la elegía », p. 213-244), sans aborder la question de la date de l'œuvre, étudie de quelle manière Maximien, qui toujours met en scène et déplore sa vieillesse, reprend ou détourne les topoï du code élégiaque, dans les élégies 2 (sur Lycoris, avec, entre autres, le thème de la belle vieille, exceptionnel à Rome, mais avec des précédents dans l'épigramme grecque), 3 (consacrée à Aquilina), 4 (Candida) et 5 (une *puella* grecque anonyme ; l'auteur y voit une forte influence catullienne). Une bibliographie (p. 245-260) et deux index (p. 261-298) concluent le volume.

Daniel VALLAT.

Doris MEYER / Céline URLACHER-BECHT (ed.), *La rhétorique du « petit » dans l'épigramme grecque et latine. Actes du colloque de Strasbourg (26-27 mai 2015)*, Paris, de Boccard, 2018 (Collections de l'Université de Strasbourg. Études d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne), 24 × 16 cm, 343 p., fig., 39 €, ISBN 978-2-7018-0523-8.

Este volumen recoge diecinueve contribuciones presentadas a un coloquio sobre la retórica de lo pequeño en el epigrama griego y latino, celebrado en Estrasburgo en mayo



de 2015, y supone un anticipo del *Dictionnaire de l'épigramme littéraire dans l'antiquité grecque et romaine*, en vías de publicación, del que son responsables las mismas editoras, las profesoras Meyer y Urlacher-Becht. Se ha elegido en esta ocasión el tema de lo pequeño para reflexionar sobre la variedad, riqueza y versatilidad del epigrama, una forma poética tan exitosa como longeva: en efecto, el libro recoge trabajos sobre el epigrama desde época helenística hasta los albores de la Edad Media, pero en torno a un hilo conductor que permite trazar su evolución y reflexionar en profundidad sobre su naturaleza. Los trabajos tratan sobre cuestiones retóricas y de poética (fundamentalmente la oposición grande-pequeño), sobre la humildad de los objetos o personas evocados en los propios epigramas, pero también sobre las dimensiones reducidas de los poemas o el contexto modesto de su publicación, temas que tienen, en muchos casos, un innegable valor metapoético. Lo pequeño no solo se relaciona con lo humilde, sino también con lo sutil y refinado, como se verá en alguno de los capítulos. La introducción (p. 11-18), a cargo de las editoras, presenta los presupuestos del libro y la relación de cada uno de los capítulos con el tema propuesto y entre sí. En general, el volumen está muy bien organizado: se divide en tres grandes partes y los trabajos se presentan según la cronología de las obras, pero hay un alto grado de trabazón interna entre las distintas contribuciones, que en algunos casos tratan los mismos temas, autores y obras desde diversas perspectivas, lo cual enriquece sin duda el resultado final. La primera parte ("La rhétorique du « petit » dans l'épigramme hellénistique : entre esthétique et éthique") consta de seis trabajos que versan fundamentalmente sobre Calímaco, Posidipo y otros autores recogidos en la *Antología Palatina*, con especial atención a Leónidas de Tarento, al que se dedica la mitad de los capítulos. El capítulo "Rhétorique du « petit » et « discours quantitatif » dans les épigrammes de Posidippe et de Callimaque" (p. 21-36), de D. Meyer, supone una excelente presentación del tema y de sus implicaciones poéticas, a la luz de los *lithikà* de Posidipo – que establecen una analogía entre los pequeños y bellos objetos descritos y el virtuosismo y preciosismo de los epigramas – y de los planteamientos estéticos de Calímaco al respecto de lo pequeño. Como señala la autora: "le discours quantitatif a joué un rôle central au niveau de la critique, de la forme et du contenu de la poésie hellénistique, mais il a aussi contribué à l'essor d'un genre nouveau : l'épigramme littéraire, composée par un poète érudit et soumise au jugement d'un public d'experts" (p. 36). C. Cusset ("Léonidas, poète de l'humilité. L'exemple des pêcheurs", p. 37-44) analiza AP 6.4, 7.295 y 7.504, sobre pescadores, poemas en los que percibe un significado metapoético: "L'humilité du pêcheur est toujours un prétexte au raffinement inverse du discours poétique" (p. 44). En el capítulo siguiente ("Léonidas et l'*Hécalè* de Callimaque", p. 45-58), É. Prioux hace un análisis de la relación intertextual entre algunos epigramas de Leónidas (fundamentalmente AP 6.120, 300, 302; 7.295, 726, 736) y la poesía de Calímaco, sobre todo, aunque no exclusivamente, su *Hécale*. Esta relación intertextual también se aborda en el capítulo que sigue ("Pour une lecture métapoétique de l'épigramme AP VII, 736 [= 33 HE] de Léonidas de Tarente", p. 59-67), en el que C.-E. Nardone analiza el poema 7.736 – ya tratado por cierto en el trabajo anterior – en clave metaliteraria. Los dos últimos trabajos se centran en dos grupos de epigramas unidos por afinidad temática: F. Kimmel-Clauzet ("La rhétorique du « petit » dans les épigrammes funéraires des grands poètes grecs", p. 69-86) analiza los epigramas funerarios dedicados a los grandes poetas griegos y el valor que en ellos tiene el contraste entre lo grande (la importancia del poeta) y lo pequeño (sus restos o el lugar donde reposan), mientras que A. Kolde ("De la mort de petits animaux", p. 87-97) se pregunta por qué los poetas lloran la muerte de animales pequeños en los epigramas; frente a la interpretación tradicional, que ve en estos poemas un juego literario – el del contraste retórico, por ejemplo, entre la pequeñez del animal y la grandiosidad de su tumba –, la

autora postula otra interpretación, especialmente en el caso de los animales “cantores” (insectos y aves): la reflexión sobre la inspiración y los límites de la creación poética. En este esquema, sin embargo, difícilmente entra la liebre y la autora se pregunta si estos epigramas podrían tener un valor ekfrástico, poniendo como ejemplo el mosaico que figura en la portada del libro. En este sentido, tal vez habría sido interesante una comparación con los epigramas de Marcial dedicados a animales, para los que G. Moretti ha planteado una interesante relación con las representaciones plásticas de naturalezas muertas (*Xenia e Apophoreta di Marziale fra ekphrasis retorica e tradizione iconografica della natura morta*, in L. Belloni et al. (ed.), *Le immagini nel testo, il testo nelle immagini: rapporti fra parola e visualità nella tradizione greco-latina*, Trento, p. 327-372). La segunda parte del libro (“Canonisation, différenciation et évolutions du « petit » entre Grèce et Rome”) consta de siete capítulos que abordan la evolución del epigrama griego y latino en época imperial, desde la *Corona* de Filipo hasta época tardía. En esta parte hay algunos capítulos de mucho interés porque contrastan la tradición epigramática griega y latina. El primer capítulo de esta sección (“Alla ricerca della brevità: l’ὀλιγοστιχία nella *Corona* di Filippo”, de F. Pelliccio, p. 101-112) tiene un carácter cuantitativo y postula la evolución del gusto poético que se percibe en cuanto a la longitud de los epigramas entre la *Corona* de Meleagro y la de Filipo; en esta última hay una preferencia por el epigrama de tres dísticos y apenas se encuentran epigramas de más de cuatro, lo cual, según el autor, es un indicio de la normalización de la longitud del epigrama en esta época. Muy interesante resulta el capítulo de L. Floridi (“La rhétorique du « petit » dans les épigrammes satiriques grecques de Lucilius et Nicarque”, p. 113-130), que reflexiona sobre lo ‘grande’ y lo ‘pequeño’ en ambos autores y que, estudiando dos series temáticas (los epigramas sobre poetas y críticos pedantes de Lucilio, y aquellos dedicados a personas con defectos físicos escritos por Nicarco), se pregunta si cabe hacer una lectura metapoética de estos epigramas o si al hacerlo se corre el riesgo de “sobreinterpretación”. Tras analizar esta selección a la luz de la tradición literaria tanto griega como latina, Floridi concluye que interpretar estos epigramas de forma metaliteraria puede resultar forzado, pero que precisamente la elección de términos tan connotados en la tradición epigramática para un uso denotativo (personas grandes o pequeñas) es muestra de la particular opción estética de estos poetas anticalimaqueos. A. M. Morelli (“Entre le « petit » et le « ridicule ». Pour une histoire comparée de l’épigramme satirique grecque et latine”, p. 131-147) postula una evolución paralela del concepto de lo pequeño en las dos tradiciones literarias y lo aplica sobre todo a Catulo, Marcial y los *Priapeos*; según él, se produce una “sexualización” del uso metapoético de lo pequeño en estos autores: pequeño no significa falta de virilidad. A continuación A. Ambühl (“De petits poètes et de grands empereurs : poétique et panégyrique du « petit » dans l’épigramme grecque de l’époque impériale”, p. 149-160) estudia el concepto de lo pequeño, pero también de lo sublime, en los epigramas griegos de época Julio-Claudia dedicados al emperador o a la familia imperial, abordando, entre otras cuestiones, la auto-representación del poeta, la composición de epigramas como intercambio de dones o como sacrificio, una evolución del epigrama votivo adaptado a las nuevas circunstancias políticas. Los dos capítulos siguientes se dedican más específicamente a Marcial: C. Notter (“L’usage du vocabulaire du « petit » à propos de la matérialité du livre d’épigrammes dans l’œuvre de Martial”, p. 161-170) hace algunas observaciones sobre lo grande y lo pequeño a propósito de la materialidad del libro, en forma de *uolumen* o de *codex*, y las relaciona con la estética de Marcial; mientras que S. Sparagna (“La dinamica del ‘grande’ e del ‘piccolo’ nel XII libro degli epigrammi di Marziale”, p. 171-184) percibe una inversión de los conceptos de grandeza y pequeñez en los epigramas de Marcial escritos en *Hispania*. Esta segunda parte se cierra con un capítulo

dedicado a algunos epigramas sobre baños, tanto griegos (AP 11.609-612, 638, 789) como latinos de época tardía (AL 36, 178-179 Riese; *Epigr. Bob.* 2, 4): “*Balneolum breue sum* : le topos des thermes privés à mi-chemin entre les évocations mythologiques et une dimension plus intime” (p. 185-201), de F. R. Nocchi. Este capítulo supone una perfecta transición hacia la tercera y última parte del libro, dedicada en exclusividad a la Antigüedad Tardía (“Contextes et enjeux du « petit » dans la latinité tardive”), que consta de seis capítulos : uno dedicado a Ausonio, otro a Símaco, dos a Sidonio Apolinar, uno a la *Antología Latina* y el último a Eugenio de Toledo. En “*Le tenuis libellus* pour Bissula d’Ausone : rhétorique du « petit » et de l’« impromptu » pour un cycle de vers compromettants” (p. 205-222), S. Mattiacci hace un interesante y sutil análisis del complejo juego literario de los poemas introductorios de la *Bissula* de Ausonio; en “*Quare elaboratam solci filo accipe cantilenam* : La place de l’épigramme dans la correspondance de Symmaque, une rhétorique de défense de ce « petit » genre ?” (p. 223-234), C. Bonnan-Garçon estudia el concepto de lo pequeño aplicado al epigrama en la correspondencia de Símaco. Dos capítulos se dedican a Sidonio Apolinar, “*Le lusus* poétique à la lumière du *conuiuium* et autres formes d’*otium* dans les poèmes de la correspondance de Sidoine Apollinaire” (p. 235-250), a cargo de M.-F. Guipponi-Gineste, y “La rhétorique du « petit » dans les épigrammes de Sidoine Apollinaire : stratégies littéraires et enjeux politiques” (p. 251-266), escrito por L. Furbetta. En el primero de ellos se aborda la relación entre epigrama, improvisación y *otium*, especialmente en el contexto del *conuiuium* y en relación con la auto-representación del poeta, mientras que el segundo aborda la definición de epigrama en Sidonio, así como sus complejas y sutiles relaciones intertextuales e implicaciones políticas, con un análisis detallado del *Carm.* 8. É. Wolff aborda “Le thème de la petitesse dans les recueils épigrammatiques inclus dans l’*Anthologie latine*” (p. 267-275), estudiando el concepto de lo pequeño, no solo con respecto a la forma o la poética, sino también al contenido, en las diferentes colecciones epigramáticas presentes en el *Codex Salmasianus* (38-80, 286, 90-197 y 287-375 de la *Anthologia Latina* de Riese) y reflexiona sobre las posibles intenciones del compilador de la propia antología vándala. Cierra el volumen el capítulo de C. Urlacher-Becht sobre los monodísticos y monósticos de Eugenio de Toledo (“*Vt multa breuiter paruo sermone perorem...* : les usages du distichon et du monostichon chez Eugène de Tolède”, p. 277-297), con especial atención a aquellos que describen pequeños objetos y a los epigramas morales o sentenciosos. La autora interpreta la especialización temática de estas formas poéticas como parte del proyecto literario de Eugenio de Toledo, para terminar haciendo unas reflexiones sobre el lugar que ocupan en la edición de sus obras. El volumen concluye con una completa bibliografía y un utilísimo *index locorum*. Un índice temático habría sido también de gran utilidad y se echa en falta, pero no resta mérito a una obra ciertamente laudable. Otro aspecto destacable es la presencia de traducciones en nota a pie de página, lo cual hará accesible este estudio a los estudiosos de la literatura que no dominen las lenguas latina y griega. En definitiva, se trata de una monografía colectiva de gran calidad y utilidad, llena de interesantes reflexiones sobre el epigrama a lo largo de un amplio periodo temporal, un volumen que destaca además por su trabada cohesión interna.

Rosario MORENO SOLDEVILA.

Chiara PFISTERER BISSOLOTTI, *Claudius Claudianus: L’epitalamio per Palladio e Celerina. Commento a carm. min. 25*, Bern / Berlin / Bruxelles, etc., P. Lang, 2017 (Studien zur klassischen Philologie, 177), 21,5 × 15 cm, 221 p., 57,95 fr. s., ISBN 978-3-631-73844-3.

Cette édition commentée constitue la version imprimée d’une thèse de doctorat préparée sous la direction d’H. Harich-Schwarzbauer et soutenue en 2014 à l’université de

Bâle. L'introduction (p. 9-66) précise que l'épithalame « aristocratique » de Palladius et Célérine, par opposition à celui de l'empereur Honorius et Marie, qualifié de « dynastique », sera abordé d'un point de vue essentiellement littéraire en donnant une place particulière à l'inter- et à l'intratextualité (surtout l'allusion), à la fonction de l'appareil mythologique et des images, ainsi qu'à l'étude des techniques de composition. La situation de Claudien et de son œuvre dans son époque, insuffisamment documentée, est assez rapide et superficielle : par exemple on lie (p. 27 et 30) la disparition de Claudien à la chute de Stilicon, ce qui la placerait en 408 : il faudrait alors expliquer ce qu'a fait entre 404 et 408 un Claudien resté poète de cour auprès de Stilicon et Séréne ; on mentionne rapidement les objections présentées par Birt (en 1892 : il y en a eu bien d'autres depuis, avec d'autres hypothèses non mentionnées !), mais sans y répondre. En revanche, j'ai apprécié la présentation du genre de l'épithalame (p. 35-43). Dans la présentation du poème (p. 67-96) sont analysés les problèmes littéraires, la datation (incertaine, p. 81-84), la représentation des familles (p. 84-90) et le public de Claudien (p. 91-96, avec l'affirmation surprenante que le *Peruigilium Veneris* aurait été écrit par l'un des auteurs de l'Anthologie *Palatine* !). L'étude du genre littéraire n'apporte guère de nouveau, mais le parallèle entre les *Carmina minora* et les *Siluae* de Stace (p. 71) est justifié. On pourra regretter que la tradition manuscrite soit expédiée en deux pages (p. 67-68) : l'auteur suit l'édition de Hall sauf au v. 51 où (comme M. L. Ricci et moi-même) elle conserve la leçon des manuscrits (*toro*) contre la correction de Burmann *uiro* adoptée par Hall ; en fait, elle se sépare aussi de Hall au v. 15 où elle a raison de choisir *Veneris* plutôt que *Veneri*. La prosodie et la métrique sont traitées en à peine plus d'une page (p. 80-81). La traduction (p. 97-100), qui inclut parfois des commentaires (aux v. 78 et 88), est donnée sans texte latin (qui apparaît par fragments dans le commentaire) ; elle est fidèle au sens (mais aux v. 43-44, le membre de phrase *prior ipsa silentem / compellat* n'est pas traduit, comme *diua* au v. 56), assez souvent large et diluée, et parfois bien prosaïque : elle gomme des nuances ou des effets littéraires recherchés par le poète. Ainsi au v. 54 *libantur* est bien expliqué p. 145, mais traduit platement par « vienne offerta ». Le commentaire (p. 101-181) se présente en deux temps : chaque section du texte est paraphrasée et expliquée globalement avant d'être commentée vers par vers, de façon très détaillée pour le début, plus rapidement à partir du v. 94. Il est avant tout linguistique, rhétorique, stylistique et littéraire (bien documenté sur ce point, avec de nombreux textes parallèles et une confrontation systématique avec l'épithalame de Stace et l'autre épithalame de Claudien, mais trop souvent paraphrastique), plus rarement ecdotique (au v. 5, on est surpris de ne pas voir pris en compte l'article d'A. Luceri de 2014). Il est impossible de le discuter ici de façon exhaustive. J'ai apprécié certaines notes (par exemple sur Hyménée, p. 132-134, ou le platane, p. 136-137), mais les points de désaccord sont nombreux : par exemple, je ne vois aucune référence à l'âge d'or dans les vingt premiers vers (*contra* p. 111) ; l'expression *regnorum numeros* (v. 86) désigne-t-elle le « numero delle province », comme il est écrit au milieu de la p. 156, alors que la traduction (p. 99) donne un autre sens : « il numero delle unità militari del regno », qui correspond au commentaire du bas de la p. 156 ? Douze pages de conclusion (p. 183-194) résument ce travail en distinguant les deux épithalames de Claudien, en synthétisant la comparaison avec l'épithalame de Stace et en insistant, après d'autres, sur le mélange des genres avec l'insertion du monde bucolique et le caractère alexandrin (descriptions, apparat mythologique) de l'épithalame pour Palladius et Célérine. La bibliographie, précédée de la liste des abréviations (p. 195-197) et présentée comme *Indicazioni bibliografiche* (p. 199-217), est de fait très incomplète, par exemple pour la religion de Claudien (p. 30-31, n. 73) ou en raison de l'absence de l'édition de l'épithalame ici étudié, avec traduction italienne et notes, par E. Bianchini (Pistoia, 1997), et confuse : on trouve p. 200, dans la section des

éditions partielles de Claudien, un article de Duckworth sur la métrique et l'édition des *Églogues* de Calpurnius par A. Guaglianone et, inversement, l'édition commentée de Barth (1650) figure p. 203 au milieu de la bibliographie critique. Un *Index locorum* (p. 219-221) conclut ce petit volume que déparent de trop nombreuses coquilles. Au total, le lecteur reste un peu sur sa faim.

Jean-Louis CHARLET.

Emmanuel PLANTADE / Daniel VALLAT (ed.), *Les savoirs d'Apulée*, Hildesheim / Zürich / New York, G. Olms, 2018 (Spudasmata, 175), 21 × 15 cm, 403 p., 98 €, ISBN 978-3-487-15638-5.

Producto de un coloquio internacional con el mismo título celebrado en la universidad Lumière Lyon 2 en octubre de 2016, el libro recoge las aportaciones presentadas en el mismo divididas en tres grandes bloques: *savoirs pratiques*, *savoirs spirituels* y *savoirs intertextuels*, un concepto un tanto extraño este último que, simplemente, agrupa capítulos sobre las relaciones de Apuleyo con otros autores. La lengua del libro y de la mayoría de las contribuciones (nueve) es el francés: hay también cuatro artículos en inglés y uno en italiano. En la introducción, Plantade recorre los grandes hitos de la investigación sobre Apuleyo de los últimos años para exponer los enigmas que lo siguen rodeando; entre otros aspectos, su figura, su obra, su adscripción a la sofística de su época o su situación cultural y espiritual entre Grecia, Roma y África. Antes de los agradecimientos se adjuntan resúmenes de cada capítulo. Cifrándose estrictamente al tema del coloquio, Nicolas Lévi pasa revista en su capítulo – “*Multiscius* : la conception apuléienne de la polymathie au miroir de la notion grecque de πολυμαθία” – a las veces que se encuentra el adjetivo *multiscius* en la obra de Apuleyo y a aquellas en las que, pudiendo a primera vista utilizarse, no aparece. El fundamento de los usos de la palabra los encuentra, con una interesante selección de textos, en la diversa valoración que se hace en griego de la πολυμαθία. Ilaria Ottria (“Apulée et la langue grecque”) analiza sin demasiada originalidad la utilización de la lengua griega en *Metamorfosis*, *Apología* y *Florida*s. Sébastien Barbara (“Apulée et les savoirs toxicologiques”) relaciona las ocurrencias de envenenamientos, sobre todo en *Metamorfosis*, con episodios del estilo en la novela griega y diversos tratados médicos y científicos para concluir que Apuleyo está a este respecto mejor informado que otros escritores de ficción y muestra así la variedad de sus conocimientos. El capítulo de Sonia Sabnis (“Towards an Epistemology of Slavery in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*”) se propone explorar la epistemología de la esclavitud relacionándola especialmente con los saberes de los esclavos y la adquisición y manipulación de este conocimiento tanto por parte de esclavos como de los amos. Tras analizar un tanto erráticamente varios textos, no solo de *Metamorfosis*, las conclusiones, extraídas de partes de la novela forzosamente limitadas, parecen precisamente por esto no demasiado convincentes. Sobre una sólida bibliografía, Marianne Béraud explica en “Apulée, juriste de la condition servile ?” el servicio del burro Lucio como *uicarius* en *Met.* 8.26 y 10.30 a la luz de diversas fuentes, sobre todo epigráficas, y pone de relieve una vez más la amplitud de los saberes de Apuleyo. Centrado también en el plano legal y concluyendo también la maestría de nuestro escritor en este campo, Mustapha Lakhliif (“Les connaissances juridiques d’Apulée de Madaure à travers l’*Apologie*”) se interesa a través de *De magia* particularmente en aspectos del derecho de familia como el matrimonio o la herencia, fundamentales en la trama del discurso. El primer artículo dedicado a los *savoirs spirituels* (Hippolyte Kilol Mambu, “L’*Âne d’or* 11, 15-16 et le *Nouveau Testament*, Actes 2, 1-16 (40). Réflexions sur les savoirs religieux d’Apulée”) es también uno de los más ambiciosos, puesto que, por medio de la comparación de este conocido pasaje del libro XI de *Metamorfosis* con una buena selección de diferentes textos, vuelve

a la polémica, nunca resuelta, sobre la intención de la novela abogando por la sinceridad de la propaganda isíaca. El razonamiento descansa en buena medida sobre la presencia en la obra de la religiosidad egipcia. Sin negar lo estimulante de la propuesta, Mimbub tendría que explicar cómo encajan sus interpretaciones en otros pasajes de *El asno de oro*, especialmente en el último libro. Anna Motta (“Apuleius’ Biography of Plato in the Platonist Tradition”) estudia la importancia de *De Platone et eius dogmate* en la tradición de las biografías platónicas y revaloriza así la labor de Apuleyo como filósofo. Evelyn Adkins (“Silence and Revelation: Discourses of Knowledge in Apuleius”) analiza las cambiantes relaciones entre curiosidad, locuacidad y silencio, sobre todo en el campo de la magia y la religión, en varios episodios de *Metamorfosis*: la conversión de Lucio en el libro III, Psique en el V, las aventuras del asno en el IX y la negativa del protagonista en el XI a satisfacer el interés del lector por su iniciación antes de convertirse en abogado al final de la obra. En las conclusiones, enfocadas ante todo al ámbito religioso, habla y silencio se ven como dos formas complementarias de discurso entre las que el segundo puede proporcionar conocimiento y poder. Bajo un título un tanto enrevesado (“Éléments d’une mythopoétique de la casuistique chez Apulée de Madaure”) Franck Collin toma una buena cantidad de pasajes tanto de *Metamorfosis* como de los tratados filosóficos junto con otros autores para demostrar la preocupación de Apuleyo en cuestiones de casuística y ofrece algunas visiones peculiares sobre su concepto de la demonología o, por ejemplo, la figura de Isis. Tantas ideas no suficientemente razonadas a lo largo de tantas citas de obras tan dispares difícilmente acabarán resultando persuasivas. La última parte del libro, consagrada, como se ha visto, a la intertextualidad, la abre Ellen Finkelpearl con “Aesopic Discourse in Apuleius”. Tras revisar críticamente los pasajes de *Metamorfosis* en los que se ha advertido alguna relación con fábulas e incluso con refranes, Finkelpearl concluye atinadamente que, al agregar estos materiales a la novela, se les ha despojado de cualquier intención didáctica o moral y que, finalmente, este rasgo resulta muy revelador para la interpretación general de la obra. Aunque no cabe esperar mucho sobre coincidencias léxicas entre Ovidio y Apuleyo, Lara Nicolini (“*Itur in silvam antiquam... Materiali ovidiani per le nuove Metamorfosi*”) advierte semejanzas entre la figura de la Venus indignada del libro IV de *El asno de oro* y la Leto ovidiana del VI, aunque sin extraer de ello mayores consecuencias. Emmanuel Plantade (“*L’inventio de Psyché et Cupidon : Apulée, lecteur de Dion de Pruse*”) apunta la semejanza de la vieja de *Or.* 1 de Dion y la *anus* de Apuleyo. Mucho más discutible es su propuesta de buscar en otro de los discursos un motivo para un relato que, según la peculiar idea del autor, tendría supuestamente un origen norteafricano. Daniel Vallat (“*Savoir caché, savoir scandaleux ? Apulée et l’intertexte épigrammatique de l’Apologie*”) resume coincidencias del *De magia* con Catulo, los priapeos y, especialmente, Marcial, aunque a este último no se le nombra en toda la obra, para concluir que ocultar en gran parte su conocimiento del epigrama puede tener una intención velada dentro de la estrategia de su discurso. Se ha reunido al final la bibliografía, selecta y abundante: aunque sería absurdo listar lo que se puede añadir de entre los innumerables estudios sobre Apuleyo sí llaman la atención ciertas ausencias, como por ejemplo el clásico Norden 1912 sobre derecho (aunque sí se cita el artículo de 1911), o Stover 2015 a propósito de *De Platone et eius dogmate*. Rematan el volumen los *English Abstracts* de cada capítulo y un *index auctorum* que solo se convierte en *index locorum* en la entrada “Apulée”, con mucho y por razones obvias la más extensa. Se trata, por otra parte, de una obra muy bien editada en la que son rarísimas las erratas (e.g. *eortum* en la página 152 u *occipo* en la 207), aunque se debería haber cuidado más la presentación en algunos momentos del texto griego. Como todos los libros que recogen intervenciones en congresos y coloquios, la calidad y la originalidad de estas son desiguales, al igual que su



encaje en el tema de la reunión, pero sin duda en este caso se trata de aportaciones que en conjunto plantean nuevas ideas sobre diferentes aspectos de la personalidad, la obra y el contexto intelectual de Apuleyo. Bienvenido, por tanto, este cuidado volumen que impulsará con toda probabilidad futuras indagaciones.

Juan MARTOS.

Jörg RÜPKE, *Pantheon: A New History of Roman Religion*. Translated by David M. B. RICHARDSON, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2018, 24 × 16 cm, xviii-551 p., fig., 39,95 \$, ISBN 978-0-691-15683-5.

Le *Pantheon* de J. Rüpke publié en 2016 et traduit ici en 2018 par D. M. B. Richardson est d'abord un bel objet, dont le texte est traduit avec clarté et précision, bien structuré et remarquablement orné par des illustrations au noir et blanc magnifique, admirables de relief et de précision. Mais c'est aussi un livre de grande érudition comme en témoignent les 46 pages de notes, les 94 pages de bibliographie et les 16 pages d'index à la hauteur du choix ambitieux de l'auteur d'écrire une nouvelle histoire de la religion romaine élargie à l'ensemble du bassin méditerranéen sur plus de mille ans (du huitième siècle avant J.C. au quatrième siècle après J.C.). L'auteur choisit une présentation à la fois chronologique, avec des chevauchements de chapitre en chapitre, et thématique pour chaque chapitre, selon une approche moderne de la notion de religion par l'analyse de trois processus : l'individualisation, la médiatisation et l'institutionnalisation des pratiques et des cultes, indicateurs d'évolution du phénomène religieux. La religion est ainsi envisagée au cœur de la société et non dans une sphère séparée des domaines politiques, économiques, culturels, et sous de multiples approches. J. Rüpke insiste particulièrement sur la notion de religion vécue et de construction individuelle dans un environnement collectif d'une identité religieuse. Atteindre Dieu, parler avec Dieu, parler de Dieu, sacrifier des lieux, des pratiques, des mots, autant d'éléments relevant de la médiation avec des interlocuteurs divins, d'insertion dans un groupe ou de création de communautés, que l'auteur analyse en termes de stratégies et de techniques de communication. C'est également la comparaison dans l'espace du monde méditerranéen (flux, imitations, oppositions, extensions), et la comparaison à travers les siècles (rigidification des pratiques, ritualisation, évolution, initiatives individuelles dans le changement) qui servent de fil conducteur dynamique à cette impressionnante synthèse. Cependant, malgré le grand désir de l'auteur d'unifier son ouvrage, et de donner un sens, relevant de mécanismes clairement identifiés, au changement dans les conceptions religieuses des temps et des lieux choisis, le lecteur peut éprouver quelque difficulté à adhérer totalement à cette thèse dont les limites sont reconnues par J. Rüpke lui-même ; l'écart entre les premiers âges évoqués dont l'analyse est limitée aux ressources archéologiques, aussi soigneusement étudiées qu'elles soient, et les dernières périodes où naissent et s'épanouissent les monothéismes, en passant par tout le développement de la république, puis de l'empire romain, réduit parfois les comparaisons à un facteur commun très limité, par exemple l'affirmation que l'apprentissage de la religion pour les jeunes enfants se fait (d'après des témoignages allant de Platon à Prudence) par la mère et la nourrice et a donc une dimension émotionnelle et esthétique plus que philosophique (p. 224). De même, c'est essentiellement la religion à Rome qui est analysée, les religions nées dans un autre lieu étant envisagées non dans leur spécificité mais dans leur rapport complexe avec Rome – et d'autant plus complexe qu'au fil du temps on traverse des périodes d'échanges commerciaux et culturels, de guerres et de conquêtes, de construction et de pérennisation de l'empire romain, de naissance et d'extension du christianisme. Lorsque cet écart spatio-temporel se réduit, l'analyse gagne en pertinence, qu'il s'agisse de remarquer que dans les premiers temps les pratiques religieuses s'identifient par opposition aux pratiques de



nourriture quotidienne (chap. 2), ou de noter que les processus de différenciation sociale et d'urbanisation de la religion suivent dans le bassin méditerranéen les chemins caractéristiques, d'une part, de la construction sociale autour de la notion de *polis* en Grèce, d'autre part de la construction des grandes familles aristocratiques à Rome (p. 31-32). La complexité des situations de communications privées, familiales, collectives, politiques, à laquelle s'ajoute la variabilité du temps et de l'espace, rend difficile une analyse globale de la communication religieuse. L'immense érudition de J. Rüpke lui permet de réaliser cet exercice de grand écart intellectuel, d'autant plus grand qu'il étend à juste titre sa vision religieuse à des domaines comme le calendrier, les lois, la justice, le nom des citoyens romains, les pratiques militaires, l'architecture, les jeux, le théâtre, le symbolisme des couleurs, la poésie et la cuisine et y applique des lectures diverses – linguistique, philosophique, historique ou littéraire. C'est original, éclairant, intelligent mais ces pistes qu'on aimerait voir développer tournent souvent court : un chapitre pour « parler et écrire sur la religion » (p. 158-182), moins d'une page sur l'analyse comparative des termes *deus* et *diuus* (p. 276-277), un passage un peu rude du statut de l'individu dans la famille à l'ordre cosmique (p. 215), et surtout un survol de l'émergence des nouvelles religions égyptiennes, orientales, puis du judaïsme et du christianisme. Les derniers chapitres contiennent une analyse fondamentale de l'évolution de la notion même de religion qui passe de pratiques rituelles mêlées, objets tout à la fois de réunion sociale et de choix individuels, à l'identité globale et collective de communautés se définissant elles-mêmes contre d'autres groupes. Ce changement conceptuel complexe prolonge la notion de religion vécue, telle qu'étudiée dans les chapitres précédents : on évolue de « faire » à « être », de « pratiquer » à « vivre », de « choisir » à « appartenir ». C'est la grande réussite de cet ouvrage ambitieux que de passer avec facilité et maîtrise la masse des témoignages matériels ou écrits au crible d'une analyse théorique fine et rigoureuse. Cette superbe synthèse invite à porter un regard nouveau sur la religion romaine antique et ne pêche finalement que par la difficulté à embrasser en une seule fois tant de domaines et un espace et un temps si démesurés qu'ils relèvent peut-être plus du travail des dieux que des hommes.

Anne FRAÏSSE.

Eliodoro SAVINO, *Ricerche sull'Historia Augusta*, Napoli, Naus, 2017, 24 × 17 cm, XII-341 p., fig., 50 €, ISBN 978-88-7478-049-5.

Der allgemeine Titel des Buches weckt große Hoffnungen. Die Zahl der Forschungsbeiträge zum noch immer nicht vollständig gelösten Problem der *Historia Augusta* wächst immer weiter an und die Forschungslandschaft wird somit immer unüberschaubarer. Notwendiger denn je sind eine Vervollständigung des mehr als 125 Jahre nach Dessau und Mommsen noch immer nur lückenhaft vorliegenden Gesamtkommentars, aber ebenso ein allgemeines Werk, das die *Historia Augusta* als Ganzes in den Blick nimmt und einen zuverlässigen Wegweiser durch die zahlreichen Forschungskontroversen bietet. Was hier allerdings tatsächlich vorliegt, ist letztlich nur eine weitere Hypothese zur Datierung, kombiniert mit Sammlungen von Passagen zu einigen wichtigeren Themen. Doch der Reihe nach. Nach einer Einleitung (S. I-XI), die einen kurzen Überblick über das Problem der *Historia Augusta* sowie eine Zusammenfassung der einzelnen Kapitel bietet, folgt das erste Kapitel zu Abfassungszeit und Autor (S. 1-58). Dessen einziger Inhalt besteht im Wesentlichen darin, die Argumente eines Aufsatzes von Bruno Pottier aufzugreifen, der in der *Vita* der Maximini eine Stellungnahme gegen Stilicho sah (Pottiers späterer Aufsatz zur *Vita* des Alexander Severus in der Festschrift Carrié bleibt hingegen unberücksichtigt), und alle vagen Indizien für diese Datierung zusammenzutragen. Zwei Anhänge befassen sich mit Alan Camerons Datierungsansatz (S. 46-52)

und Nicomachus Flavianus als möglichem Autor der Historia Augusta (S. 53-58); beides wird (ohne durchschlagende neue Argumente) abgelehnt. Als Verfasser identifiziert Savino hingegen den aus den Briefen des Sidonius Apollinaris bekannten Tascius Victorianus, was mit sehr allgemeinen Argumenten belegt wird. Dass etwa Tascius ein „esperto di filologia“ und an der *emendatio* des Livius durch den Symmachuskreis beteiligt war (S. 44), bietet keinen auch nur halbwegs sicheren Beleg und anzuführen, er sei immerhin *uir clarissimus* gewesen, was auch auf Vulcacius Gallicanus, einen der angeblichen Autoren der Historia Augusta, zutreffe (S. 45), ist nicht einmal als vages Indiz tauglich. Zudem macht sich Savino auch nicht die Mühe, Hinweise und Argumente, die auf eine frühere Abfassungszeit der Historia Augusta hindeuten, zu diskutieren. Dazu nur zwei aussagekräftige Beispiele: Die Bezeichnung von Maximinus Thrax als *semibarbarus* wird mit der des Stilicho durch Hieronymus parallelisiert und daraus ein sicheres Kriterium für die zeitliche Einordnung behauptet (S. 13-14). Die von den meisten Forschern geäußerte These, dass in der Vita an dieser Stelle einfach auf Herodian zurückgegriffen wird, der ebenfalls Maximinus als Halbbarbaren bezeichnet und dessen Werk auch sonst als Quelle der Historia Augusta belegt ist, wird nicht einmal erwähnt. In der Diskussion über mögliche Verbindungen zwischen der Historia Augusta und Rutilius Namatianus (S. 22-24), der im ganzen Buch konsequent „Rutilio Namanziano“ genannt wird, stellt Savino fest, direkte Verbindungen seien nicht nachweisbar, aber beiden sei eine kritische Haltung gegenüber dem Christentum gemein, die sich in der Historia Augusta in Anspielungen und bei Rutilius in seiner Kritik an den Mönchen und seiner Judenfeindschaft (sic!) äußere. Die Existenz sowohl von Kritik christlicher Autoren am Mönchtum als auch heidnischer Judenfeindschaft scheint ihm hingegen nicht bekannt oder nicht aussagekräftig genug zu sein. Das zweite Kapitel befasst sich mit dem Text und der Struktur der Historia Augusta (S. 59-103). Hier hätte sich mit eingehenden Handschriftenstudien ein deutlicher Gewinn für die Forschung erzielen lassen, doch erfolgen solche nicht. Stattdessen werden im Schnelldurchgang neun grundlegende Fragen auf jeweils durchschnittlich weniger als fünf Seiten (mit entsprechend dünnen Ergebnissen) abgehandelt. Konkret handelt es sich um die folgenden Themen: Ursprünglicher Anfang der Historia Augusta (Hadrian, nicht Nerva / Trajan), ursprünglicher Titel, Ursache der Lücke zwischen den Viten von Gordian III. und Valerianus, Zuweisung der Viten an die pseudonymen Autoren (dazu die Liste S. 77), Zeitfolge der Abfassung der Biographien (dazu die Liste S. 83), Arbeitsweise des Biographen (auf wenig mehr als zwei Seiten abgehandelt: S. 83-85), spätere Überarbeitungen des Textes durch den Autor, Vorbildfunktion der Panegyrici Latini (dazu noch Diederik Burgersdijk, in *Talanta* 45, 2013, S. 30), Autorennamen und Widmungen; ein Anhang vergleicht Text und Anordnung der Viten in den beiden Handschriftenklassen. Im dritten Kapitel wird die Darstellung der Geschichte Roms in der Historia Augusta (S. 105-157) aufgelistet. Nach ein paar Worten zum Lebensaltervergleich (S. 106-110), zu dem die meisten Spezialstudien (etwa die von Demandt und Häussler) unbeachtet bleiben, folgen Aneinanderreihungen der Passagen, in denen die Historia Augusta über die Königszeit, die Republik (zu Catilina in der Historia Augusta siehe noch Barry Baldwin, in *Parola del passato* 36, 1981, S. 315-316 = *Studies on Late Roman and Byzantine History, Literature and Language*, Amsterdam, 1984, S. 53-54) und die frühere Kaiserzeit berichtet. Zwei Anhänge behandeln die Entstehung der Vita der dreißig Tyrannen und die Utopie der *Roma aeterna* in Zusammenhang mit zwei Orakeln. Die in diesem Kapitel gebotene Materialsammlung hat zweifellos ihren Nutzen, doch sind die allgemeinen Ergebnisse wenig weiterführend und stellenweise verfehlt. So behauptet Savino etwa, die *exempla* aus der Königszeit und der Republik ermöglichten es dem Autor, in Form von Anspielungen seine Ansichten über die Geschehnisse seiner eigenen Zeit zu formulieren

(S. 126). Warum der Autor aber eine solche umständliche Vorgehensweise anwenden sollte, obwohl es ihm nach den Voraussetzungen Savinos problemlos möglich ist, solche Stellungnahmen auch in seiner Darstellung der in den Viten behandelten Kaiser einzubauen (siehe etwa oben zum *semibarbarus*), wird nicht problematisiert. Zudem krankt das allgemeine Urteil (S. 147-149) daran, dass hier Savinos keineswegs gesicherter Datierungsansatz als gegeben vorausgesetzt wird. Am nützlichsten ist das vierte Kapitel zum Christentum in der *Historia Augusta* (S. 159-236). Hierin werden alle relevanten Passagen zusammengestellt und unter Heranziehung der meisten Forschungsbeiträge kurz kommentiert, was einen schnellen Überblick darüber ermöglicht, welche Angaben von Teilen der Forschung als mögliche Anspielungen auf das Christentum gewertet werden. Als wesentliche Ergebnisse Savinos sind zu notieren: Nicht jede der behaupteten Anspielungen ist als solche plausibel; die oft parodistischen tatsächlichen Anspielungen verraten eine deutliche Gegnerschaft gegenüber dem Christentum (und Stilicho), wenngleich es sich nicht um ein systematisch gegen die Christen gerichtetes Werk handelt und der Autor nicht zwingend ein (ehemaliger) Christ ist. Der Anhang dieses Kapitels über die Juden in der *Historia Augusta* kommt für diese zu demselben Ergebnis. Über die allgemeinen Ergebnisse mag man diskutieren (es gibt einflussreiche Stimmen dafür und dagegen, die bei Savino größtenteils erfasst sind), doch ist die Ausführung im Einzelnen nicht immer zufriedenstellend: Besonders unerfreulich ist, dass nicht nur Samuel Zinslis immerhin bereits 2014 erschienener Kommentar zu der für die Studie Savinos wichtigen Elagabalvita ignoriert wird, sondern auch ein fast ein Jahrzehnt älterer Aufsatz desselben Forschers zur *Vita Constantini* des Eusebios als „Referenztext“ für ebenjene Vita (*Wiener Studien* 118, 2005, S. 117-138), obwohl Savino S. 174-176 ebenfalls das Themenfeld „Elagabalo e Costantino“ behandelt. S. 194-196 werden die Zinsgesetze des Severus Alexander und die Thesen von Johannes Straub dazu diskutiert; man vermisst hier deren eingehende Widerlegung in der Dissertation von Klaus-Peter Johné (1976). Das fünfte Kapitel behandelt die Bedeutung von Historiographie und Biographie in der *Historia Augusta* (S. 237-264); zwei Anhänge behandeln Paschouds Thesen zu Marius Maximus sowie Apollonios von Tyana und Augustinus als Modelle für die *Historia Augusta*. Auch der hauptsächliche Wert dieses Kapitels besteht darin, die relevanten Passagen zu sammeln und die Forschungsmeinungen dazu zusammenzustellen. Nicht geboten wird allerdings ein systematischer Vergleich mit anderen Werken und eine Verortung der *Historia Augusta* in der Geschichtsschreibung ihrer Zeit. Das Unterkapitel zu den biographischen Modellen (S. 243-251) verdeutlicht das sehr gut: Behandelt werden nur Marius Maximus und Aelius Iunius Cordus. Das Problem besteht nun nicht darin, dass Cordus eine auch von Savino als solche erkannte Erfindung der *Historia Augusta* ist (gerade das macht weiterführende Folgerungen möglich), sondern zum einen darin, dass die zitierten Quellenpassagen der *Historia Augusta* zu Cordus einen größeren Raum einnehmen als die Stellungnahmen Savinos dazu. Wichtiger ist aber, dass die Materialbasis höchst unvollständig ist, da weder die weiteren fiktiven Autoren (die oft Anspielungen auf reale historische Persönlichkeiten und deren Werke darstellen) noch die übrigen Quellen der *Historia Augusta*, ob explizit genannt oder nicht, diskutiert werden. Aber nicht einmal die berücksichtigten Autoren sind zufriedenstellend behandelt, da die Diskussion über Marius Maximus letztlich nicht über dessen explizite Erwähnungen in der *Historia Augusta* und Ammianus Marcellinus sowie den verschiedenen Ansätzen der Forschung in der Frage, welche Kaiser er in seinem Werk behandelte, hinausgeht. Oder kurz gesagt: Eine Diskussion der biographischen Technik der *Historia Augusta* und dem Einfluss ihrer Vorlagen findet man hier nicht. Zu dem Anhang, in dem die Schrift des Augustinus *De mendacia* als mögliche Quelle für die *Historia Augusta* in Anspruch genommen wird (S. 263-264), ist noch darauf hinzuweisen, dass Bickermann, der als

Vorgänger für diese These reklamiert wird (S. 263-264, Anm. 175), dies nicht behauptet. Interessant ist hingegen die Hypothese, der geringe Niederschlag der *Historia Augusta* sei darin begründet, dass es sich um ein unvollendetes Werk handle, das aus diesem Grund nie publiziert worden sei (S. 256-258); zwingende Argumente dafür stehen allerdings noch aus. Es folgen Literaturverzeichnis (S. 265-286), Abkürzungsverzeichnis (S. 287-288) und Register (S. 289-341). Die Bilanz dieses Buches fällt somit eher bescheiden aus: Zum einen eine weitere unwahrscheinliche Hypothese zu Abfassungszeit und Autor der *Historia Augusta*, die ohne neue Argumente mit stärkerer Beweiskraft auch nie mehr sein wird, zum anderen eine Reihe von Stellenkommentaren, die als bibliographisches Instrument durchaus ihren Nutzen haben, aber oft zu wenig in die Tiefe gehen und nicht ausreichend vollständig sind, um einen grundlegenden Ansatzpunkt für die Forschung darzustellen. Abgerundet wird das durch eine Reihe von Tabellen und Farbbildungen, die teilweise hilfreich, teilweise hingegen überflüssig sind, und eine nicht ganz geringe Anzahl an Druckfehlern. Hätte Savino sich eines der behandelten Themen herausgegriffen und es ähnlich, aber in einer eingehenderen Weise behandelt, so könnte man ihm für eine solche Syntheseleistung und einen Wegweiser durch die Forschungslandschaft nur dankbar sein. So aber hat er ein Werk geschaffen, das ein wenig Synthese und ein wenig Forschungsbeitrag ist, dadurch keines von beiden zufriedenstellend repräsentiert und spätestens dann, wenn es von neueren Forschungsbeiträgen zu diesen vielbehandelten Themen ersetzt wird, getrost vergessen werden kann.

Raphael BRENDL.

Sigrid SCHOTTENIUS CULLHED / Mats MALM (ed.), *Reading Late Antiquity*, Heidelberg, Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2018 (Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften. Neue Folge, 2. Reihe, 156), 24 × 16 cm, 267 p., 48 €, ISBN 978-3-8253-6787-9.

In questo resoconto mi limiterò a descrivere il volume citato in epigrafe, mettendone in luce esclusivamente gli aspetti positivi (quantunque vi si rinvenivano talora affermazioni che destano perplessità, come certune, inesatte o piuttosto *tranchant*, della Schottenius Cullhed, nonché un'eccessiva indulgenza ai *philosophoumena*). Il volume costituisce un ottimo lavoro non fosse altro che per il fatto d'essere incluso nella serie *The Library of the Other Antiquity*, sostanziano con esemplificazioni plurime l'*argutum inuentum* di 'altra antichità' di Marco Formisano (ma già del Marrou: « une autre antiquité », in *Décadence romaine ou Antiquité tardive ?*, Paris, 1977, p. 13) che ne è il responsabile, e per il fatto che i suoi contributi parlano in inglese di tarda antichità; parlano cioè di questo argomento nella stessa lingua (ormai veicolare) in cui è redatto l'*Oxford Latin Dictionary* che – come è noto – non include lemmi latini più tardi del II sec. d.C., come se da quella data in poi il latino avesse patito una diffusa afasia. Fosse solo per questi due motivi, questa raccolta dedicata alla ricezione della tarda antichità, conglobante le relazioni di un Convegno tenutosi nella primavera del 2015 a Stoccolma, sarebbe già benvenuta. Ma, ovviamente, per molte altre ragioni il volume si segnala. Nell'Introduzione i curatori schizzano un quadro di riferimento teorico e bibliografico sulla tarda antichità e sulla ricezione dell'antico, menzionando il pensiero e l'opera di Edward Gibbon, Peter Brown, Andrea Giardina e Charles Martindale ma anche lavori recenti o in corso di stampa come quelli di Stephan Rebenich, Edward James, Arnaldo Marcone, Clifford Ando, Marco Formisano, Scott McGill ed Edward Watts. Nomi, questi, dai quali si comprende bene l'orizzonte epistemologico nel quale si muovono curatori e contributori, i quali non si preoccupano di considerare adeguatamente le iniziative di edizione critica dei testi tardolatini coeve alle epoche di ricezione della letteratura tardoantica da loro esaminate, al punto che ne resta fuori praticamente tutta la filologia dei secoli XIX e XX.

Il volume è diviso in tre sezioni: la prima, intitolata *Theoretical Outlooks*, concerne le implicazioni teoriche e metodologiche della reinterpretazione della tarda antichità secondo nuove categorie di pensiero; la seconda ripropone in *inscriptio* le viete definizioni di *Decadence and Decline*; la terza è intitolata *Continuities and Transformations*. La prima sezione è aperta dal contributo di James Uden, *Untimely Antiquity: Walter Pater and the "Vigil of Venus"* che applica alla letteratura tardolatina il criterio della atemporalità e mostra la capacità di un testo di divenire ponte fra le epoche. Uden prende spunto da Pater, autore del romanzo *Marius the Epicurean: His Sensations and Ideas* (1885), in una scena del quale si immagina la composizione del *Peruigilium Veneris*, e prosegue con il carme *Pervigilium in Lustra* di Ezra Pound e con *Prufrock's Pervigilium* e *The Waste Land* di Eliot. Marco Formisano (*Fragments, Allegory, and Anachronicity: Walter Benjamin and Claudian*), poi, esplora la possibilità di comprendere i testi tardolatini al di là del contesto storico nel quale sono stati prodotti ed in modo autonomo senza collegarli necessariamente con la letteratura precedente, enfatizzando il concetto di *Ursprung* proprio di Benjamin (se ne veda *Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels* del 1928) e la sua idea di allegoria che Formisano applica al *De raptu Proserpinae* di Claudiano. Segue il lavoro di Jesús Hernández Lobato (*Late Antique Foundations of Postmodern Theory: A Critical Overview*), dove si riprende e si esamina l'idea di Umberto Eco che la tarda antichità possa essere intesa come la postmodernità del mondo antico. Nella tarda antichità si verificò una rivoluzione linguistica che andò di pari passo con la costituzione di 'poetiche del silenzio' e della molteplicità dei sensi della scrittura. Apre la seconda sezione Olof Heilo con *Decline and Renaissance: Re-reading the Late Antiquity of Jacob Burckhardt*. Il contributo è incentrato sull'opera *Die Zeit des Constantins der Grossen* (1853) del Burckhardt, che considerava la tarda antichità *ausarten*, non senza esaminare l'intera produzione dell'autore, in modo da mettere in luce come la sua idea di Rinascimento si sia prodotta a partire dagli elementi di degenerazione e declino da lui ravvisati nell'epoca tardoantica. Segue *Reading Against the Grain: Late Latin Literature in Huysmans'* À rebours, di Scott McGill che riflette sulla biblioteca di Jean des Esseintes dove sono inclusi Commodiano, Ausonio, Claudiano, Sedulio e Rutilio Namaziano. Opportunamente McGill ricorda in *incipit* che il termine *Spätantike* fu introdotto negli studi archeologici e storico-artistici nel 1901 con l'opera *Spätromische Kunstindustrie* di Alois Riegl che contestualmente si proponeva di porre fine già allora ai pregiudizi contro quest'epoca, mostrandola come un periodo di trasformazione e di sviluppo. Stefan Rebenich contribuisce agli atti con *Late Antiquity, a Gentleman Scholar and the Decline of Cultures: Oswald Spengler and Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, dove si riassume la visione sulla tarda antichità propria di Spengler, la si confronta con quella di Otto Seeck, la si contestualizza nella crisi contemporanea degli studi classici ed infine se ne discute il potenziale innovativo. In *Rome Post Mortem: The Many Returns of Rutilius Namatianus* la Schottenius Cullhed traccia il percorso dell'interpretazione del poeta gallo-romano da Gibbon agli intellettuali francesi postrivoluzionari ed al fascismo. La reinterpretazione di Procopio di Cesarea in *The Holy Palace* della Koenig è oggetto del contributo di Henriette Harich-Schwarzbauer (*Alma Johanna Koenig's Der heilige Palast. "The Rise and Fall" of Theodora in the Belletrist of the Wiener Moderns*). Chiara Ombretta Tommasi in *A Byzantine Phaedra between Paganism, Heresy and Magic: The Tragic Fate of Silvana in La Fiamma by Ottorino Respighi and Claudio Guastalla (1934)* esamina l'opera in tre atti *La Fiamma* ambientata nella Ravenna bizantina, mettendo in luce la fascinazione che il Basso Impero esercita sul Decadentismo europeo. Respighi, infatti, preferì ambientare l'opera nel contesto bizantino piuttosto che nella Norvegia luterana in cui è ambientata la storia di *Anne Pedersdotter* di Hans Wiers-Jenssen di cui essa è adattamento. La terza sezione contempla in apertura

il contributo di Ad Putter *Versifications of the Book of Jonah: Late Antique to Late Medieval* che passa in rassegna le trattazioni del soggetto biblico di Giona e della balena nella letteratura latina dal IV al XIV secolo. Segue il contributo di David Westberg dal titolo *Literary mimesis and the Late Antique layer in John Doukas' (or Phocas') Description of Palestine*, concernente la descrizione di un pellegrinaggio in Terra Santa risalente al tardo XII secolo con attenzione all'aspetto ecphrastico e all'influenza del retore di VI secolo Coricio. Molto avvincente il contributo di Helena Bodin "*I Sank through the Centuries*": *Late Antiquity Inscribed in Göran Tunström's Novel The Thief*, almeno tanto quanto è avvincente il romanzo al quale esso è dedicato. *Tjuven* (secondo il titolo originale) è incentrato sul gotico *Codex Argenteus* e sulle vicende del suo scriba Wiljarith e del dottorando che si specializza in gotico all'Università di Uppsala nella metà del XX secolo e riesce a decifrare un enigma iscritto nel codice dal suo copista, in modo che due storie si dipanano in parallelo: una ambientata nella Svezia del secondo dopo guerra ed una nella Ravenna teodericiana di VI secolo, alla cui delineazione contribuisce Procopio. Il paradigma di due storie parallele ritorna in *Mundus totus exsilium est: On Being out of Place*, dove Catherine Conybeare esamina i testi autobiografici di due uomini che parlano delle loro madri: Agostino di Ippona nelle *Confessioni* ed Edward Said in *Out of Place*. Brevi profili bio-bibliografici dei contributori ed un breve *Index* (senza ulteriore specificazione, che tuttavia appare essere un *Index nominum et rerum notabilium*) chiudono il volume.

Paola PAOLUCCI.

Jean-Paul THUILLIER, *Allez les Rouges ! Les jeux du cirque en Étrurie et à Rome*. Textes réunis par Hélène DESSALES et Jean TRINQUIER, avec la collaboration de Véronique SALAÜN, Paris, Éditions Rue d'Ulm / Presses de l'École Normale Supérieure, 2018 (*Études de littérature ancienne*, 26), 24 × 16 cm, 250 p., fig., 22 €, ISBN 978-2-7288-0580-8.

On aurait pu songer à un autre cri de supporters pour ces encouragements, mais c'eût été se placer dans les rangs des partisans de Vitellius, à moins qu'il n'y ait eu dans ce choix, de la part de l'auteur, l'intention de rappeler qu'il avait jadis, du côté de Lugdunum, beaucoup encouragé un club qui portait ces couleurs. Jean-Paul Thuillier a eu l'immense mérite, tout au long de sa carrière, de vouloir donner à l'histoire du sport, considéré par maints spécialistes de la grande histoire comme une thématique mineure, toute sa place, pour ne pas dire sa noblesse, dans notre réflexion sur les sociétés antiques. Davantage que bien des domaines de la recherche concernant cette période, l'étude du sport invite à une approche pluridisciplinaire qui touche à l'histoire, à la philologie et à l'archéologie, toutes sciences dans lesquelles le chercheur excelle, mais aussi à la sociologie ou à l'anthropologie. Surtout, les parallèles avec nos sociétés modernes abondent et toute réflexion sur les pratiques anciennes apporte une lumière nouvelle et pertinente sur le monde contemporain. La comparaison entre les jeux du cirque et les grandes compétitions de football saute aux yeux de tout scrutateur des mouvements d'opinion de foule. Ainsi, certains historiens allemands pensent sérieusement que le « Miracle de Berne », c'est-à-dire la victoire de l'équipe nationale allemande sur la formation hongroise à Berne en finale de la coupe du monde de football, en 1954, constitua un moment essentiel dans la naissance de la République fédérale d'Allemagne et un des actes fondateurs du nouvel état au même titre que la déclaration de 1949. On n'est pas très loin de Juvénal qui déclarait qu'une défaite de la faction des verts, au cirque, aurait plus de retentissement que l'annonce du désastre de Cannes et il ne fait aucun doute qu'avec les jeux du Cirque, le monde romain a donné au monde moderne une des clés de la popularité. D'ailleurs, le même Juvénal ne s'en cachait pas quand il répondait à la question toujours



délicate pour un pouvoir politique « Comment tenir le peuple ? », par sa célèbre formule : « Du pain et des Jeux ». Et Fronton, son contemporain, ajoutait même que les seconds étaient plus importants parce qu'ils profitaient au plus grand nombre tandis que le premier ne satisfaisait qu'un individu. Hier comme aujourd'hui, le spectacle drainait les foules romaines vers un seul lieu ; le reste de la Ville, capitale du monde, se vidait presque totalement de ses habitants, comme aujourd'hui les rues et places des villes, grandes et petites, sur les cinq continents deviennent subitement désertes à l'heure du match décisif. Les clameurs du Cirque où Rome toute entière (*tota Roma*) s'est rassemblée, viennent troubler la tranquillité du poète et seul un intellectuel, rétif au sport, comme Pline ou Juvénal, ou quelques marginaux, comme il s'en voit partout à toutes les époques, restent chez eux à ces moments importants de la vie sociale quand il ne s'agit pas tout simplement de l'honneur de la nation. Encore faut-il, pour donner de la pertinence à ce type de rapprochement, maîtriser parfaitement tous les ressorts du sport moderne. C'est naturellement le cas de J.-P. Thuillier qui en est aussi un chroniqueur avisé : en témoignent sa parfaite connaissance du monde hippique d'aujourd'hui et des différents types de courses organisées sur nos hippodromes, mais aussi, par exemple, sa capacité à faire naître cette comparaison très suggestive entre la boxe et la danse, entre le danseur figuré sur les vases grecs ou étrusques et les pas d'esquive des plus grands boxeurs contemporains, d'Al Brown à Mohamed Ali en passant par Sugar Ray Robinson. La boxe a traversé les âges et, à propos de cette discipline multiséculaire, l'auteur peut à juste titre affirmer que le sport, contrairement à la guerre, ne tue que par accident. Il faut donc mettre au crédit de H. Dessales et de J. Trinquier le mérite d'avoir rassemblé une série de travaux sur cette thématique et mis en évidence la cohérence de la démarche scientifique du chercheur au travers d'un choix ciblé. Le lecteur prendra par ailleurs connaissance de l'importance de l'œuvre scientifique de J.-P. Thuillier en parcourant l'ensemble foisonnant de ses publications scientifiques – livres et articles dans les meilleures revues internationales – dont la liste est fournie en fin d'ouvrage. La présentation de 16 articles publiés entre 1982-2008 est précédée par une belle introduction de W. Decker. L'idée dominante qui traverse la réflexion scientifique de l'auteur est la mise en exergue de l'influence du sport étrusque sur l'organisation et le déroulement des premières compétitions hippiques et athlétiques de la Rome ancienne, et, en ce sens, son impact a sans doute été plus important que celui des Grecs. On ne peut en effet oublier que ce sont les Tarquins qui ont défini l'emplacement du Circus Maximus et que les Étrusques ont été clairement les initiateurs de Rome en ce qui concerne les courses de chars, ainsi qu'en témoignent les sources littéraires et les documents figurés. Ainsi, si l'on peut s'étonner de l'absence de courses montées dans la Rome ancienne alors que ce type d'épreuves est très présent dans le monde grec, l'influence de l'Étrurie permet à l'auteur de nous donner de ce manque un peu surprenant une explication tout à fait convaincante. De même en ce qui concerne les jeux athlétiques, Rome a retenu l'essentiel de l'Étrurie : la course, la lutte et surtout la boxe. À ce sujet, J.-P. Thuillier établit avec beaucoup de pertinence et de discernement des comparaisons édifiantes avec la pratique de ce sport aujourd'hui. La quête scientifique de l'auteur repose surtout sur une importante documentation – textes, peintures, iconographie, comme celle de la tombe du maître des Olympiades – qui est parfaitement maîtrisée et sur une définition précise du vocabulaire des acteurs du cirque. On retiendra notamment les distinctions subtiles entre *desultores* et *cursores*, entre *auriga* et *agitor*. J.-P. Thuillier s'est particulièrement intéressé à la première catégorie de ces compétiteurs du Cirque, ces cavaliers voltigeurs introduits à Rome sans doute dès l'époque des rois et qui pratiquaient le saut à terre. Le spectacle des *desultores* animait tous les grands jeux romains que l'on ne saurait résumer aux seules courses – certes les plus prestigieuses – de quadriges. Un style alerte, parfois teinté d'humour,



rend accessible au plus grand nombre, et particulièrement agréable, un texte dans lequel une impeccable érudition le dispute à la rigueur du chercheur. Nul ne sait mieux que l'auteur rendre compte de l'effervescence et de l'atmosphère qui entourent les *ludi circenses* au moment où, par un phénomène d'aspiration que l'on retrouve dans les grands stades d'aujourd'hui, la foule vient à la rencontre de ses héros d'un jour, d'un soir ou d'un moment. Alors lisez ou relisez Jean-Paul Thuillier ! On ne s'en lasse pas !

Jean-Michel RODDAZ.

Francesco URSINI, *Ovidio e la cultura europea. Interpretazioni e riscritture dal secondo dopoguerra al bimillenario della morte (1945-2017)*. Premessa di Carlo OSSOLA, Roma, APES, 2017, 21 × 15 cm, 353 p., 25 €, ISBN 978-88-72331-44-6.

In the paragraph summary of this book that appears on its back cover, Francesco Ursini associates its publication with two historic events: the bimillennium of Ovid's death in 17 CE, and the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the signing in Rome of the treaty that established the European Common Union in March 1957. Ursini describes this double anniversary as an opportunity to celebrate the symbolic significance of Ovid as a unifying figure in European culture, a character and an idea whose self-reflexivity offers a mirror in which to reflect on a number of the greatest challenges facing the contingencies of life lived in a postmodern world. This grand premise introduces a book that is neither a scholarly monograph nor a broad introduction to Ovid and his recent reception; the latter already exists, in Ziolkowski's *Ovid and the Moderns* and in several essay collections published since then. Rather, Ursini has produced an extended bibliographical essay, surveying what he considers the most important scholarly and creative works in Ovid's modern scholarship and reception and focusing on a few themes that illuminate a contemporary sense of modernity or even post-modernity in Ovid's poetry. Ursini's book is written in a readable style, with most quotations in foreign languages (aside from English) translated into Italian; less clear, however, is the book's purpose, other than the aforementioned celebration of the bimillennium of 2017. In this review, therefore, I shall limit myself to a concise summary of the critical and creative works at the center of Ursini's work, with little critical intervention after the first chapter; at the close of this review I offer a few thoughts of my own on the book's purpose, intended audience, and contemporary value. After a brief Foreword by classicist Carlo Ossola and an Introduction and Note on the texts of Ovid's poetry cited in the book, Ursini organizes his subject into three large chapters. His general practice is to offer extended descriptions of each of the works discussed in the chapter, after providing a rationale for his choice, and then to follow the summaries with an essay that identifies points of contact between and among the works he has just described, and important differences in perspective. Given the celebratory character of the book, Ursini generally limits his discussion to works, both critical and creative, in which he finds real value; but he is not averse to making value judgments about the quality or effectiveness of the works he describes. This sometimes results in an odd combination of breezy overview and schoolmasterly critique. In Chapter 1, "La critica ovidiana e il discorso contemporaneo," Ursini identifies seven works of Ovidian scholarship, broadly defined, from the period indicated in the book's title to provide the focus for his discussion; according to Ursini, these seven works stand out as having had a particularly significant impact on critical debate when and after they were published. The seven works are H. Fraenkel, *Ovid: A Poet between Two Worlds* (1945); L. P. Wilkinson, *Ovid Recalled* (1955); B. Otis, *Ovid as an Epic Poet* (1966); I. Calvino, *Gli indistinti confini* (1979); G. Rosati, *Narciso e Pigmalione: Illusione e spettacolo nelle "Metamorfosi" di Ovidio* (1983); C. Segal, *Ovidio e la poesia del mito:*

*Saggi sulle "Metamorfosi"* (1991); and P. Hardie, *Ovid's Poetics of Illusion* (2002). Ursini then adds a few other works of secondary focus: K. Galinsky, *Ovid's Metamorphoses: An Introduction to the Basic Aspects* (1975); S. Hinds' article "Generalising about Ovid" (1987); N. Holzberg, *Ovid: Dichter und Werk* (1997); and A. Barchiesi's *Introduction* to the first volume of the *Metamorphoses* commentary published under the auspices of the Fondazione Valla (2005). In the remainder of the chapter Ursini offers what is essentially a tendentious historiography of modern Ovidian criticism, using each of these as landmarks to guide his reader along a path tracing the recent course of critical discourse. In Chapter 2, "Le *Metamorfosi* nell'età dell'incertezza," Ursini uses the collection *After Ovid: New Metamorphoses*, edited by Michael Hofmann and James Lasdun (1994), as the starting point for a survey of "creative rewritings" of Ovid, including poetry, prose, theatrical works, young adult literature, and film. These works include T. Hughes, *Tales from Ovid* (1997); A. Shakar, *City in Love: The New York Metamorphoses* (1996); P. Terry (ed.), *Ovid Metamorphosed* (2000); A. Mitchell / A. Lee, *Shape-shifters: Tales from Ovid's Metamorphoses* (2009); N. Iizuka, *Polaroid Stories* (1997); M. Zimmerman, *Metamorphoses* (1998); and C. Honoré, *Métamorphoses* (2014), as well as D. Slavitt's translation of the *Metamorphoses* (1994), which Ursini considers highly influential in shaping the reception of the poem in these rewritings of Ovid. As in the preceding chapter, Ursini offers a historiography of these works, emphasizing common themes as well as individual differences. The chapter is organized around nine narratives in the *Metamorphoses* "rewritten" by most if not all of the modern writers listed here: Daphne and Apollo; Phaethon; Actaeon; Echo and Narcissus; Arachne; Tereus, Procne, and Philomela; Orpheus; Pygmalion; and Ceyx and Alcyone. In the last five +/- pages of the chapter, Ursini offers a synthetic summary of the significance of the *Metamorphoses* in the modern world. In Chapter 3, "L'esilio di Ovidio e la condizione postmoderna," Ursini follows the same basic structure and approach used in Chapter 2, now focusing on Ovid's exile – not in fact on the exile poetry, but on the existential crisis that Ovid's exile has come to symbolize. Again he focuses on five works: V. Horia, *Dieu est né en exil* (1960); D. Malouf, *An Imaginary Life* (1978); C. Ransmayr, *Die letzte Welt* (1988); L. Desiato, *Sulle rive del Mar Nero* (1992); and M. Mincu, *Il diario di Ovidio* (1997). Ursini follows these summaries with a briefer catalogue of shorter works by a wide variety of modern and contemporary poets, playwrights, and other creative interpreters. As with the previous chapters, this too concludes with an overview of about eight pages making the (uncontroversial) point that recent interest in Ovid's exile often reflects the contingent character of postmodernity. The book concludes with a brief (six pages) Appendix, "Ovidio e la censura immaginaria: il caso dei «bollini rossi»," a brief discussion of the censorship imposed on the *Metamorphoses* by some students at Columbia University in 2015 who complained that their professor discussed only the stylistic elegance and wit of Ovid's rape scenes, saying nothing about the violent content of the stories themselves. The episode is in fact both fascinating and troubling, and has earned its notoriety in American humanist circles; but it is not simply a silly business – in fact, one could argue that it really gets to a core challenge for the discipline of Classics. Many of us who teach Latin literature at the university level have argued forcefully for the importance of reading difficult and sometimes disturbing texts; but Ursini's treatment of the episode is supercilious and trivializing, and betrays a lack of appreciation for the distinctively difficult challenge of reading the Greek and Latin classics in the contemporary US. He concludes by reasserting the exceptional significance of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, along with Virgil's *Aeneid* and the Homeric epics, for the continuity of European cultural identity, even as that identity appears to be increasingly challenged from both without and within. It remains to consider the purpose of this book and its intended

audience. As I noted earlier, Ziolkowski has already given us the fundamental introduction to Ovid's modern reception; Ursini's effort is both narrower and less ambitious, offering little sustained attention to the text of Ovid and a generally superficial, even homogenizing summary of Ovid's reception in Europe. A historiographical approach to Ovidian criticism and reception can have value, but – like history itself – it needs to be able to tolerate inconsistencies, unsolved puzzles, and dead ends; instead, Ursini ends up imposing a strikingly non-Ovidian uniformity on Ovid in order to assert his status as a "classic." In the process, furthermore, he skews rather rashly the historiographical narrative: thus, among the scholarly works which he considers most important in this narrative are several which, though unobjectionable, are hardly paradigm-shifting; and he omits several books and shorter works that are simply essential to a responsible appreciation of Ovidian scholarship, such as Stephen Hinds' *The Metamorphosis of Persephone* (1987), Garth Tissol's *The Face of Nature* (1997), and the many contributions of Elaine Fantham, including her 2004 book, *Ovid's Metamorphoses*. Indeed, the contributions of female scholars in general are all but invisible in this book – as, indeed, are the many important works, written by both men and women, that deal with the themes of gender and sexuality, although these issues are arguably as central to current discussions of European cultural identity as are the aspects of identity that Ursini valorizes. Most if not all of the creative works that appropriate Ovid and that are summarized by Ursini recognize this centrality; but he expresses no interest in it here. Indeed, as I read the book I found myself wondering repeatedly about the role played by a combination of national chauvinism and the "great man" school of history in shaping Ursini's catalogue of *summi uiri* – points of orientation that are profoundly antithetical to virtually everything Ovid wrote, in all of its kaleidoscopic chaos and intellectual cleverness. The portrait that results has an air-brushed quality about it; thus, while I admire Ursini's ability to organize and synthesize at least some of the recent reception history of Ovid, I wish he had applied his talents to a more challenging, less laudatory project. The book we do have, meanwhile, can be used with profit as a bibliographic resource by curious readers eager to know where to begin to meet Ovid on his own terms.

Barbara Weiden BOYD.

Friedrich Wilhelm VON HASE (ed.), *Die Kunst der Griechen mit der Seele suchend. Winckelmann in seiner Zeit*, Mainz, Ph. von Zabern, 2017, 31 × 25 cm, 144 p., 83 ill., 39,95 €, ISBN 978-3-8053-5095-2.

La publication de cette monographie qui, sous la direction de F. W. von Hase, réunit quatorze contributeurs – conservateurs de musées, historiens, archéologues – en majorité allemands à l'exception de l'archéologue italien G. Camporeale, s'inscrit dans un vaste programme de célébration du 300<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de Winckelmann, né le 9 décembre 1717 à Stendal en Prusse. C'est ainsi que le DAI (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut) de Rome a organisé en 2017-2018 un large cycle de conférences sur le phénomène européen de la réception de son œuvre. L'Italie, où la carrière de Winckelmann s'est épanouie, lui a consacré en 2016-2017 une exposition organisée à Florence sur le thème des relations du « Père de l'archéologie » avec la Toscane et les Étrusques. F. W. von Hase, lui-même archéologue spécialiste de la pré- et protohistoire de l'Italie, donne l'orientation du volume dans sa préface, alors que son introduction présente une vision d'ensemble de la vie et de l'œuvre de Winckelmann, en éclairant les lignes de force et en traçant le cadre des différentes contributions. En effet, celles-ci suivent quatre grands axes, en évoquant tout d'abord les étapes déterminantes de la vie et de l'œuvre de Winckelmann, depuis son séjour au château de Nöthnitz, près de Dresde, au service du baron Heinrich von Büнау

(Kordelia Knoll ; Bettina Freifrau von Finck), jusqu'à son arrivée à Rome et la visite des sites d'Herculanum et Paestum en 1758 (Rüdiger Splitter ; Gabriel Zuchtriegel). Suit l'examen de l'œuvre proprement dite dans son appréhension des cultures de l'Antiquité – les anciens Grecs (Reinhard Stupperich), les Étrusques et les Égyptiens, Phéniciens et Perses (Giovannangelo Camporeale ; Regine Schulz). Quatre articles contribuent à la contextualisation du parcours de Winckelmann : l'évocation de son précurseur Johann Friedrich Christ (Hermann Wiegand), la création de la « science de l'art » par Winckelmann (Josef Nolte), l'influence de son étude du Laocoon sur le discours esthétique de l'École de Weimar (Dieter Borchmeyer) et enfin les rapports avec la Prusse (Frank-Lothar Kroll). La permanence de l'œuvre de Winckelmann de nos jours est questionnée dans les trois interventions qui closent le volume et concernent le domaine de Dessau-Wörlitz (Ingo Pfeifer), et la Société Winckelmann (Stephanie Gerrit Bruer), pour conclure sur la place de Winckelmann au XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle (Diamantis Panagiotopoulos). La vie et l'œuvre de J. J. Winckelmann s'inscrivent dans l'Europe des Lumières, représentée par son Allemagne natale et l'Italie, sa seconde patrie. Au terme de ses années de formation, Dresde et le château de Nöthnitz, où, entre 1748 et 1755, il remplit la fonction de bibliothécaire du comte von Büнау, lui ouvrent l'accès à de riches collections de tableaux et d'antiques et lui inspirent les grandes orientations de son œuvre, le conduisant à formuler pour la première fois sa conception de l'histoire de l'art. C'est dans ce contexte qu'il publie en 1755 les *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Werke in der Malerey und Bildhauerkunst* et envisage le spectre entier du monde grec des images, non seulement par l'étude de la statuaire mais aussi par *La Description des pierres gravées du feu baron de Stosch* (Florence, 1760), ou encore par l'examen des vases issus des tombes d'Étrurie, qu'il est le premier à identifier comme grecs (Reinhardt Stupperich). À Nöthnitz, comme plus tard à Rome, il fréquente les artistes auprès desquels il acquiert l'expérience de la description des peintures, mise en œuvre plus tard pour l'étude des décors antiques de Pompéi et Herculaneum. Les travaux conduits dans les villes antiques du Vésuve, et les découvertes, qui y sont faites, aiguissent son intérêt et le poussent à accepter la proposition du cardinal Alberico Archinto, rencontré au château de Nöthnitz, de devenir son bibliothécaire et de séjourner à Rome. Converti au catholicisme en 1754 et titulaire d'une bourse de deux ans allouée par le roi de Prusse Frédéric II, il gagne Rome en 1755. Il y est introduit dans les hautes sphères du Vatican et, à la mort du cardinal Archinto en 1759, il entre comme bibliothécaire au service du cardinal Alessandro Albani, célèbre par la très riche collection d'antiquités qu'il a constituée. Il jouit d'une grande liberté qui lui permet d'entreprendre en 1758 un voyage, qui le conduit sur les sites antiques du Sud de l'Italie, à Paestum (Gabriel Zuchtriegel), dans les villes antiques du Vésuve et au musée de Portici (Rüdiger Splitter). Il donne à ses recherches une nouvelle dimension, et fait le lien entre histoire de l'art et archéologie. Sa visite à Paestum lui fait aborder l'architecture antique la plus ancienne et concevoir la notion d'archaïsme, d'où découlent celle de développement autonome de l'art, ainsi que la définition de styles dont la succession permet d'établir une chronologie. Par ailleurs, il rend compte, dans ses *Sendschreiben von den Herculanischen Entdeckungen* (Dresde, 1762), de ses visites aux travaux conduits par le roi de Naples à Herculaneum, sur lesquels il porte un regard critique. En 1763, Winckelmann sera nommé Président de la Commission archéologique papale et, comme tel, aura sous son contrôle toute l'archéologie antique. Ces diverses expériences « sur le terrain » s'inscrivent dans son projet d'une *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, qui paraît à Dresde en 1764 et, très vite traduite en français et en italien, se diffuse en Europe, marquant l'avènement de l'histoire de l'art et de l'archéologie. La situation de Winckelmann à Rome lui fait rencontrer les aristocrates européens qui accomplissent leur Grand Tour et sollicitent ses compétences. Ainsi en est-il du prince Leopold III, Friedrich Franz

von Anhalt-Dessau, qui se présente à lui le 25 décembre 1765 et lui demande d'être son guide et son professeur à Rome (Ingo Pfeifer). F. W. von Erdmannsdorf, qui fait partie de la suite du prince, reçoit pendant six mois l'enseignement de Winckelmann, qui détermine sa vocation d'architecte. De retour en Allemagne, il conçoit et réalise le château de Dessau-Wörlitz, qui illustre la célèbre formule de Winckelmann adressée aux artistes contemporains : « devenir inimitables grâce à l'imitation des Anciens ». Le séjour à Rome du prince Leopold III fournit une image des relations internationales qui se tissent entre savants européens : en effet, Winckelmann présente au prince l'architecte et archéologue français C. L. Clérisseau, lui-même très lié au milieu des « antiquaires » anglais, qui dispense à Erdmannsdorf des leçons de dessin. On a là une illustration des transferts culturels que Winckelmann suscite en Europe, comme le montre une récente exposition présentée en 2017 au Neues Museum de Weimar. La carrière romaine de Winckelmann lui assure de multiples contacts avec les milieux artistiques, scientifiques et politiques internationaux, ce qui légitime la question de ses rapports complexes avec sa Prusse natale (Frank-Lothar Kroll). En effet, la perspective de « se replier » à Berlin ne lui sourit pas et il refuse la direction du Cabinet des médailles et de la Bibliothèque royale, que Frédéric II lui propose. Malgré cette décision, le souverain conduira une véritable politique des arts, qui favorise le développement du néo-classicisme et la création de nombreuses écoles. Les deux dernières contributions à cet ouvrage (Stephanie Gerit Bruer ; Diamantis Panagiotopoulos) permettent de mesurer la pérennité de l'œuvre winckelmanienne. La « Winckelmann-Gesellschaft », fondée à Stendal en 1940, et son musée constituent aujourd'hui une fondation internationale de 600 membres issus de 20 pays, qui organise de nombreux congrès en Allemagne et à l'étranger. Elle met à disposition des banques de données sur les recherches bibliographiques et le fonds des archives de Winckelmann. La publication commentée des œuvres a été entreprise en collaboration avec l'Université Humboldt de Berlin, alors que la Société elle-même produit les *Mitteilungen der Winckelmann-Gesellschaft*, et organise de nombreuses expositions. L'ouvrage se clôt sur l'évaluation de l'héritage intellectuel et scientifique du « pionnier » Winckelmann, dont on souligne les apports décisifs, fondateurs de l'archéologie classique, tout en mesurant les évolutions et transformations introduites au cours du temps. Cet ouvrage, destiné à un large public éclairé, bénéficie d'une iconographie de haute qualité et très judicieusement choisie, qui agrmente un ensemble très cohérent de contributions toutes caractérisées par la richesse et la clarté de leur contenu.

Ève GRAN-AYMERICH.

Erich WOYTEK, *Die Ciris im Kontext der augusteischen Dichtung*, Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2018 (Wiener Studien. Beiheft, 39), 22,5 × 15 cm, 261 p., 45,70 €, ISBN 978-3-7001-8105-7.

G. Lodge (CW 1, 1907, 49) fragte einmal, ob künftige Philologengenerationen darum zu beneiden oder doch eher zu bedauern wären, wenn es jemals gelänge, die Homerische Frage zu lösen. Ähnlich steht es wohl um die *Ciris*-Frage. So unschätzbar bedeutend eine sichere Bestimmung der Entstehungszeit und des Autors dieses zusammen mit anderen Gedichten der sogenannten *Appendix Vergiliana* überlieferten Epyllions in 541 Versen auch für die Literaturgeschichtsschreibung wäre, so schade wäre es doch, damit eine philologische Spielwiese zu verlieren, auf der verschiedene Methoden und theoretische Ansätze bedenkenlos erprobt werden können. Allein für die Entstehungszeit des Gedichtes wurden so viele verschiedene Vorschläge gemacht, dass diese von der Mitte des ersten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. (E. K. Rand, *HSCP* 30, 1919, S. 145-155) bis zum ersten Viertel des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. reichen (R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Ciris*, Cambridge, 1978, S. 48-56). Eröffnet wurde der moderne Streit um die Datierung und Verfasserschaft der

*Ciris* zu Beginn des vergangenen Jahrhunderts durch F. Skutsch (*RE* IV 1, 1900, S. 1347f.; *Aus Vergils Frühzeit*, Leipzig, 1901; *Gallus und Vergil*, Leipzig, 1906), der anhand von Anspielungen auf die Dichtungen des Gallus in Vergils sechster und zehnter Ekloge sowie einer Untersuchung der sprachlichen Parallelen zwischen den Werken Vergils und der *Ciris* das Epyllion dem berühmten Liebeselegiker C. Cornelius Gallus zuweisen zu können meinte. Seinen schärfsten Widersacher fand Skutsch in F. Leo (*Hermes* 37, 1902, S. 14-55; *Hermes* 42, 1907, S. 35-77), der im *Ciris*-Dichter einen dilettantischen Nachahmer Vergils erkennen möchte: Unter Vorwegnahme des Axelson-Kriteriums (B. Axelson, *Eranos* 58, 1960, S. 110) erklärt er, dass sich die Parallelen (seiner Meinung nach) wesentlich besser in den vergilischen Kontext fügen als in den der *Ciris*. Nur wenige schenkten der donatischen Vergil-Vita (§17) Glauben, in der das Gedicht Vergil zugeschrieben wird (F. Vollmer, *SBAW* 1907, S. 358-372; Rand, *op. cit.*; A. Rostagni, *Virgilio minore*, <sup>2</sup>Rom, 1961, S. 185-205). Für die Folgezeit scheint Leo den Sieg davongetragen zu haben: Man stritt sich dann nämlich vermehrt darum, ob der *Ciris*-Dichter auch Anleihen bei Ovid gemacht habe (R. Helm, *Hermes* 72, 1937, S. 78-103; F. Munari, *Studi sulla 'Ciris'*, Florenz, 1944) oder ob sein Epyllion bereits vor Ovids Schaffenszeit entstanden sei (K. Büchner, *RE* VIII A 1, 1955, S. 1109-1129; D. Knecht, *AC* 31, 1962, S. 236-251). Es hat sich schließlich die Meinung durchgesetzt, dass die *Ciris* wohl in tiberische Zeit zu datieren sei, in der Sueton (Tib. 70,2) zufolge neoterische Stücke in Nachahmung Euphorions wieder in Mode kamen (F. R. P. Good-year, *EV* 1, 1984, S. 798-800; P. L. Schmidt, *DNP* 2, 1997, S. 1220f.; M. G. Iodice, *Appendix Vergiliana*, Mailand, 2002, S. 246; P. L. Gatti, *Ciris*, Mailand, 2010, S. 14-16). Den *Ciris*-Dichter betrachtete man als einen frühen Vorgänger der Cento-Technik, der sein Stück aus Versatzstücken aus den Werken Catulls, Vergils, Ovids und heute verlorener Neoteriker zusammenfügte (Munari, *op. cit.*, S. 354; Lyne, *op. cit.*, S. 36-47; G. Bretzighheimer, in N. Holzberg [ed.], *Die Appendix Vergiliana*, Tübingen, 2005, S. 148-156). Erst zum Ende des vergangenen Jahrhunderts stellte sich wieder D. Gall (*Zur Technik von Anspielung und Zitat in der römischen Dichtung*, München, 1999) auf die Seite Skutschs: Sie zeigte, dass zahlreiche Stellen, die in ähnlicher Gestalt bei Vergil und in der *Ciris* vorkommen, eher zum Stil des Epyllions passen als zu dem Vergils, dass Vergil schon in den *Bucolica* öfter als der seinem Vorbild Huldigende denn als durch ein Zitat durch den *Ciris*-Dichter Geehrter erscheine, und dass Properzens *Ciris*-Anspielungen in der *Monobiblos* sich vornehmlich in Gedichten finden, die an (einen) Gallus adressiert sind. So schrieb sie das Epyllion schließlich wieder Cornelius Gallus zu. Ein neues Aufflammen der alten Debatte, das man sich von diesem Beitrag erhoffte (H. J. Tschiederl, *AAHG* 55, 2002, S. 180), blieb aber vorerst aus. Erst jetzt, fast zwei Jahrzehnte nach Galls Monographie, erhält ihre These, dass Vergil die *Ciris* gekannt und nachgeahmt habe, teilweise Bekräftigung durch E. Woytek. In der vorliegenden Monographie analysiert Woytek nach einem kurzen Abriss der Forschungsgeschichte zur *Ciris* (S. 9-20) zuerst die Imitationstechnik Ovids anhand von Parallelen zu früheren Werken, bei denen die relative Chronologie unzweifelhaft ist. In einem imitierenden Text finden sich Woytek zufolge meist eines oder häufig gar mehrere der folgenden Phänomene: Verdoppelung eines vorgegebenen Wortes oder Motivs, Ausführung von bloßen Andeutungen in der Vorlage wie etwa hinzugefügte Vergleiche, lexikalische Hinweise auf die Vorlage, sprachliche und/oder sachliche Besonderheiten, semantische Veränderung eines übernommenen Wortes, Kontextisolation von Versatzstücken, sekundär einfachere Wortwahl, Gebrauch von Füllsätzen, geringere Präzision im Ausdruck, mehrfache Bezugnahme auf einen Vorlagevers. Wie er diese Imitationstechnik in Ovids Anleihen bei Vergil, Tibull und Properz nachweisen kann, so findet er auch zahlreiche Stellen, an denen Ovid mit den gleichen Mitteln die *Ciris* rezipiert (S. 21-72). Darauf zeigt Woytek, dass Anspielungen



des *Ciris*-Dichters wie auch Vergils auf Stellen aus den Werken Lukrezens und Catulls die gleichen Eigenschaften aufweisen (S. 73-114), sodass der Vergleich zwischen den vergilischen Stücken und der *Ciris* im Folgenden unter dem Gesichtspunkt geführt werden kann, an welcher der parallelen Stellen sich jeweils die genannten Imitations-Merkmale ausmachen lassen. Dabei kommt er zu dem Ergebnis, dass der *Ciris*-Dichter Imitationen der *Bucolica* und der *Georgica* in seinem Werk unterbringt (S. 115-141), Vergil in der *Aeneis* allerdings seinerseits die *Ciris* zitiert (S. 142-188). Am interessantesten wird Woyteks Argumentation, wenn er „alte Streitfälle“ diskutiert, die „von jeder der beiden Parteien als so sicherer Beleg gerade für ihren Standpunkt reklamiert wurden, daß sich alle weitere Beweisführung erübrigen würde“ (S. 159), und dabei zeigt, wie seine neu an die Frage angelegten Kriterien das Patt, in das sich Skutsch und Leo gegenseitig manövriert haben, auflösen können (S. 159-180). Bis hierher ist Woyteks Argumentation im Allgemeinen schlüssig und überzeugend. Zwar darf man zweifeln, ob Selbstzitate Vergils oder Ovids ebenfalls bei der Analyse der Imitationstechnik berücksichtigt werden nicht doch eher als Aspekte des Individualstils des jeweiligen Dichters gewertet werden sollten, doch ist die Masse an Beispielen unzweifelhafter Nachahmung derart erdrückend, dass die Datierung der *Ciris* zwischen den *Georgica* (ca. 31 v. Chr.) und der *Aeneis* (19 v. Chr.) nun kaum mehr ernstlich angezweifelt werden sollte. Woytek grenzt den Entstehungszeitraum anhand einer Untersuchung der Similien zwischen der *Ciris* und dem ersten und zweiten Elegien-Buch des Properz sogar noch weiter ein und kommt somit auf den Zeitraum zwischen 29 und 25 v. Chr. (S. 223-234). Den *terminus ante quem* meint er noch zusätzlich stützen zu können durch den Nachweis, dass auch Ovid in seinen frühesten Liebesgedichten von der *Ciris* Gebrauch mache (S. 67-72). Dabei verzichtet er allerdings darauf, die in der aktuellen Forschung geläufige Leugnung der Erstauflage der *Amores* (A. Barchiesi, *AJAH* 13, 1988 [1996-97], S. 101-103; N. Holzberg, *Ovid: Dichter und Werk*, München, 1997, S. 41-43) ausführlicher als mit der bloßen Bemerkung, dass er sie „frivol“ finde (S. 71), zu diskutieren. Auch beim Vergleich der *Ciris* mit dem ebenfalls Messalla gewidmeten Enkomion, das sich im pseudo-vergilischen *Catalepton* als Epigramm 9 findet und das Woytek als echtes Triumphlied aus dem Jahr 27 v. Chr. ansieht (S. 189-197), zieht er nicht die neueren Versuche, das *Catalepton* als einheitliches, in sich geschlossenes Gedichtbuch zu lesen, mit dem ein Fälscher nach Vergils Tod Jugendwerke des Dichters zu präsentieren vorgibt, in Betracht (N. Holzberg, *MD* 52, 2004, S. 29-40; M. Stachon, *Tractavi monumentum aere perennius*, Trier, 2014, S. 134-177). Woyteks Datierung des neunten *Catalepton*-Gedichts auf 27 v. Chr., die er durch Anwendung der vorgestellten Methode auf Parallelen zum ersten und zweiten Elegien-Buch des Properz gewinnt (S. 189-192), ist nicht nur hinsichtlich der geringen Menge an Imitationsbeispielen sehr dürftig, sondern auch dadurch kaum überzeugend, dass er dafür etwa Properzens Gebrauch von *puella*, einem Wort, das einem bei diesem Dichter doch auf Schritt und Tritt begegnet, als Beispiel für die Nachahmung des *Catalepton*-Epigramms (9,21-24) durch Properz (2,3,25-30; 2,28,29f.) betrachtet. Über die Feststellung, dass sowohl der *Ciris*- als auch der *Catalepton* 9-Dichter gelegentlich auch sprachliche Anleihen bei Ciceros Reden machen und dass in beiden Gedichten häufig die Sprache als für Poesie allzu hölzern, ja geradezu als prosaisch und rhetorisch gerügt worden ist, kommt Woytek schließlich zu seinem spektakulären Ergebnis, dass die *Ciris*, deren Entstehung er mittlerweile genau im Jahr 26 v. Chr. verortet hat (S. 207), von jenem anderen herausragenden Redner jener Zeit neben Messalla stammen müsse: C. Asinius Pollio (S. 197-211). Abschließende Bemerkungen zum Verhältnis Vergils und Horazens zu Pollio sowie ein Similienvergleich zwischen *Ciris*, *Catalepton* 9 und den kümmerlichen Fragmenten aus Pollios Schriften sollen die Autoridentifikation bestätigen (S. 211-221). Es ist zu befürchten, dass die vorliegende Monographie Woyteks, in der er die *Ciris*



durchaus plausibel und überzeugend ins dritte Jahrzehnt v. Chr. datiert, in Zukunft dennoch unter Hinweis auf seine übereifrigen Bemühungen, den Autor des Epyllions mit demjenigen des neunten *Catalepton*-Gedichts zu identifizieren und darin C. Asinius Pollio zu erkennen, bloß müde belächelt und als ein weiteres Kuriosum in der *Ciris*-Forschung abgetan werden wird. Man wird kritisieren, dass er keine Literatur zitiert, die nach 2006 erschienen ist, sodass ihm nicht nur zwei kommentierte Ausgaben (Iodice, *op. cit.*, S. 241-304; Gatti, *op. cit.*), sondern auch ein seinen *terminus post quem* durchaus stützender Datierungsvorschlag von P. L. Gatti (*CentoPagine* 2, 2008, S. 28-38) sowie die von B. Kayachev vorgelegten intertextuellen Studien zur *Ciris* (*Allusion and Allegory*, Berlin, 2016) und zu *Catalepton* 9 (*CQ* 66, 2016, S. 180-204) entgehen. Anstatt seine Ergebnisse mit den dort ausführlich diskutierten Anspielungen des *Ciris*-Dichters auf Werke republikanischer und griechischer Autoren zu stützen, vertraut er voll und ganz auf die Beweiskraft seiner eigenen Methode. Dabei stößt er gelegentlich selbst schon an die Grenzen derselben, wenn etwa doch *Ciris* 473f. als Nachahmung von *Aeneis* 3,73f. erkannt wird (S. 180-188) oder Tibull im gleichen Gedichtbuch als Imitator (Cir. 245 → Tib. 1,4,25f.) wie auch als Imitierter (Tib. 1,2,54 → Cir. 372f.; Tib. 1,6,31f. → Cir. 409-415) erscheint (S. 235-237). Seine Erklärungen dieser Ausnahmen, die als *Aeneis*-Imitation erkannten *Ciris*-Verse 473f. seien als spätere Interpolation anzusehen (S. 186f.) und Tibulls Gedichte seien bereits vor der Publikation in Dichterlesungen im Umkreis Pollios und Messallas vorgestellt worden (S. 237), sind aber keineswegs abwegig. Allein die Tatsache, dass Woytek diese Ausnahmen von der Regel und damit vermeintlichen Indizien gegen die Richtigkeit seiner Thesen überhaupt erwähnt, ist ihm schon hoch anzurechnen. Dieses Bemühen darum, möglichst viele einschlägige Similien zu besprechen – Vollständigkeit zu erreichen, ist wohl kaum möglich –, lässt das Buch zwar etwas redundant und ermüdend erscheinen, doch ist diese Häufung von Beispielen der literaturgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der Frage durchaus angemessen. Ansonsten ist das Buch sehr übersichtlich gegliedert, vom Satzbild her gut zu lesen und, soweit ich sehe, bis auf ein überschüssiges Leerzeichen (*suppli cio*, S. 198) vollständig frei von Tippfehlern. Bevor man den neuen Ergebnissen aber guten Gewissens Eingang in Literaturgeschichten und Nachschlagewerke gewähren kann, müsste die angewandte Methode zur literarischen Prioritätsbestimmung freilich noch anhand weiterer chronologisch zweifelsfreier Beispiele systematisch auf ihre Stichhaltigkeit geprüft werden. Ließe sich nämlich unter Anwendung der gleichen Kriterien z. B. zu dem Schluss gelangen, dass Persius seine Satiren vor Horaz geschrieben haben müsse, so brähe Woyteks Argumentation vollkommen in sich zusammen. Bis Derartiges geschieht, kann die von ihm vorgelegte Datierung der *Ciris* auf den Zeitraum zwischen 31 und 25 v. Chr. aber dennoch als ein ernst zu nehmender Beitrag zur *Ciris*-Frage gelten. Es wäre falsch, weiterhin ohne ausführliche Diskussion dieses Datierungsvorschlags von einer nach-ovidischen Entstehungszeit des Epyllions auszugehen.

Markus STACHON.

Markus ZIMMERMANN, *Romanisation und Repräsentation in Noricum*, Bonn, R. Habelt, 2017 (Antiquitas. Reihe 1. Abhandlungen zur Alten Geschichte, 71), 22,5 × 16,5 cm, xii-465 p., fig., 93 €, ISBN 978-3-7749-4080-2.

Die zu besprechende Monographie ist die leicht überarbeitete Fassung einer im Sommersemester 2016 an der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg vorgelegten Dissertation. Wie in der „Einleitung“ (S. 1-8) ausgeführt, möchte das Buch die Romanisation Noricums behandeln, da eine umfassende Studie dazu bislang ein Desiderat darstellte (S. 7). Die inhaltliche Ausrichtung des Buches wird dahingehend präzisiert, dass „das Hauptaugenmerk“ den lokalen Eliten gelten soll; „andere Gesellschaftsgruppen und

Romanisationsfaktoren werden aber ebenfalls berücksichtigt“ (S. 5). Von Repräsentation ist zunächst noch nicht die Rede. Dieser zweite zentrale Begriff des Buchtitels kommt erst im Kap. II.7 „Romanisation und Repräsentation“ (S. 58-60) zur Sprache, wo angekündigt wird: „Für Noricum ist deshalb zu untersuchen, welche Repräsentationsformen dort genutzt wurden und ob dabei eine Abgrenzung innerhalb der Eliten zu greifen ist. Ebenso wird es interessant sein zu prüfen, inwieweit bestimmte Repräsentationsformen von anderen sozialen Gruppen übernommen wurden“ (S. 60). Im darauffolgenden Kapitel „Aspekte der Romanisation“ (S. 9-66), das „einige allgemeine wichtige Teilaspekte der Romanisation erläutert“ (S. 7), geht es zunächst um Terminologisches. Zimmermann macht sein Verständnis des Begriffs „Romanisation“ klar. Für ihn werden damit „die politischen, sozialen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Veränderungen in einer neuen römischen Provinz“ (S. 11) bezeichnet, wobei es ein wichtiger Aspekt sei, dass „dieser Prozess nicht zentral von Rom gelenkt und den Provinzialen aufgezwungen wurde, sondern dass diese, besonders die lokalen Eliten, römische Vorbilder freiwillig imitierten“ (S. 11). Nach einem kurzen Eingehen auf die Auseinandersetzungen um die Verwendung dieses Terminus (S. 9-12), kommt der Verfasser zu dem Schluss, es könne „wohl mit gutem Recht der Terminus Romanisation verwendet werden, solange man definiert, was darunter zu verstehen ist“ (S. 10). Der mit Abstand umfangreichste Abschnitt dieses Kapitels ist das Unterkapitel II.5 „Romanisation und die Verbreitung des Bürgerrechts“. Darin soll deutlich gemacht werden, wie sehr die Provinzialbevölkerung nach dem römischen Bürgerrecht strebte. Vor allem wird aber auf die die Kontroverse eingegangen, was unter dem *ius Latii* zu verstehen sei: ein Personenrecht oder ein Gemeinderecht. Zimmermann resümiert nach einer – vergleichsweise ausführlichen – Erörterung der Frage, dass die Quellen eher für ein Konzept des *ius Latii* als Gemeinderecht sprechen (S. 42). Weitere, knapper behandelte, Aspekte dieses Kapitels sind: II.2 „Romanisation und Elitenbildung“, II.3 „Romanisation und lokale Eliten. Antike literarische Quellen“, II.4 „Romanisation und antike Urbanistik“, II.6 „Romanisation und Patronage“, II.7 „Romanisation und Repräsentation“ und zuletzt II.8 „Zur Aussagekraft des epigraphischen Materials“. Von nun an beginnt ein chronologischer Aufbau. Es folgen die Kapitel III. „Die vorrömische Zeit“ (S. 67-86), wobei die Bedeutung des heute in Slowenien liegenden Teils von Noricum für die frühe Phase der Kontaktaufnahme mit Rom herausgestellt wird, IV. „Die römische Annexion“ (S. 87-97) und V. „Noricum vor der Gründung der Municipia. Mit einem Ausblick nach Iulium Carnicum und Nauportus“ (S. 98-154). Zimmermann, der sich darin gegen die Meinung ausspricht, dass die Provinzialisierung erst unter Claudius erfolgte, will hier mit der eingehenden Betrachtung der ersten Jahrzehnte der jungen Provinz „wichtige Aspekte der Romanisation Noricums aufzeigen“ (S. 100). Eine besondere Rolle nimmt dabei die Behandlung der Siedlung auf dem Magdalensberg ein, deren Romanisierungsprozess in zwei Phasen gesehen wird: zuerst in ihrer Rolle als Warenumserschlagplatz und dann als Verwaltungssitz. Den Hauptteil des Buches stellt die Beschäftigung mit der Zeit nach der Einrichtung der ersten Municipien unter Claudius dar. Sie beginnt mit Kapitel VI. „Literarische Quellen zur Geschichte Noricums von Claudischer Zeit bis in das 3.Jh.n.Chr.“ (S. 155-160), das die bekannten einschlägigen Stellen präsentiert. Daran schließt sich das eigentliche Kernstück des Buches an: VII. „Entwicklung der Städte sowie Zusammensetzung und Repräsentation der Eliten von Claudischer Zeit bis in das 3.Jh.n.Chr.“ (S. 161-287). In ihm wird für alle neun Städte Noricums eine Bestandsaufnahme geboten, die jeweils aus den Abschnitten „Archäologischer Befund und Stadtgeschichte“, „Der epigraphische und statuarische Befund“ sowie einer „Synthese“ besteht; letztere fehlt allerdings bei den zwei sehr kurz ausgefallenen Behandlungen von Ovilava und Lauriacum. Thematisiert werden hier, was die Urbanisierung betrifft, etwa die Frage, von wem sie getragen wurde, die verschiedenen

Gründungsumstände und die folgenden Entwicklungen mit der Übernahme neuer Architekturformen. Hinsichtlich der Eliten wird vor allem auf die Bedeutung der zugezogenen italischen Bevölkerung eingegangen, die geringer einzuschätzen sei, als in der Forschung häufig vertreten. Allerdings habe die Situation in Iuvavum eine gewisse Ausnahme dargestellt. Als wichtigstes Repräsentationsmedium werden Grabbauten angesprochen. Die in römischer Zeit wieder aufkommenden Hügelgräber etwa werden dabei als ein gutes Exempel für die Verschmelzung von einheimischen und neu importierten Elementen gesehen – in dieser Art von Bestattung sei eine Anpassung an die Formen der römischen Statusrepräsentation unter Verwendung lokaler traditioneller Formen zu erkennen (S. 142). Besprochen werden aber auch der Romanisierungsgrad der einheimischen Bevölkerung und die Zusammenhänge zwischen einheimischen Eliten und römischem Militär, um noch zwei weitere Punkte herauszugreifen. Nach der Behandlung der Städte im Einzelnen erfahren die getroffenen Aussagen nochmals eine Bündelung in den zwei thematischen Zusammenfassungen „Fazit zur Urbanisierung“ und „Fazit zur Zusammensetzung und Repräsentation der Eliten in Noricum“. Das anschließende Kapitel VIII. „Weitere Faktoren der Romanisation in nachclaudischer Zeit“ (S. 288-320) bringt Ergänzungen zu den bisherigen Ausführungen, da „neben Urbanisierung und Eliten ... natürlich auch noch andere Faktoren zur Romanisation der Provinz“ (S. 288) beitrugen. Auf Veränderungen der Sachkultur kann, wie der Verfasser betont, nicht näher eingegangen werden, doch werden vier Unterkapitel geboten; mit den Überschriften: „Vici, villae rusticae und weitere Wirtschaftsfaktoren“, „Händler“, „Das Bürgerrecht von Claudius bis zur Constitutio Antoniniana“ und „Patronage in Noricum“. In einer „Schlussbetrachtung“ (S. 321-331), deren Ziel es ist, die „wichtigsten Entwicklungslinien der Genese der Provinz“ aufzuzeigen (S. 321) sowie im Romanisationsprozess auf die Rolle Roms einerseits und der kooperationsbereiten lokalen Eliten andererseits einzugehen, wird herausgestellt, dass auf Seiten der lokalen Eliten insbesondere Interesse an Importwaren, an römischen Repräsentationsformen und am römischen Bürgerrecht greifbar ist. Das Repertoire, das Rom zu Anwendung brachte, bestand hauptsächlich in Bürgerrechtsverleihungen, Stadtrechtsverleihungen mit Zuerkennung des *ius Latii*, dem gelegentlichen Einbringen neuer architektonischer Formen und einer gewissen Förderung der Urbanisierung. Vor allem das *ius Latii*, das municipale Amtsträger mit dem römischen Bürgerecht belohnte und somit die Integration der lokalen Eliten in das römische Herrschaftssystem förderte, unterstreicht Zimmermann immer wieder als wichtigen Romanisationsfaktor. Es folgen noch ein Abbildungsteil mit zwei Landkarten und 12 Plänen der behandelten Siedlungen sowie die zwei Tabellen „Die epigraphisch bezeugten Personen auf dem Magdalensberg“ und „Epigraphisch bezeugte Magistrate in Noricum“. Ganz zuletzt stehen eine umfangreiche „Bibliographie“ (S. 376-458) sowie ein „Register“ für „Wichtige Personen, Orte und ‚Stämme‘ sowie antike Autoren“. Mit dem Buch hat sein Verfasser eine inhaltsreiche Studie zu den Veränderungen vorgelegt, die im Rahmen der Eingliederung Noricums ins Imperium Romanum zu beobachten sind. Ihr besonderer Wert liegt sicherlich darin, eine ausführliche Zusammenschau zu bieten. Allerdings wäre die Gliederung der Arbeit im Sinne einer klareren Struktur und Überschaubarkeit der vielfältigen Inhalte noch verbesserbar gewesen. Die zahlreichen Zwischensummenfassungen schaffen da kaum Abhilfe. Wenn sich grundsätzlich bei der Lektüre zunächst einmal der Eindruck mangelnder inhaltlicher Geschlossenheit einstellen kann, so liegt das wohl daran, dass der Titel des Buches falsche Erwartungen weckt. Die am Buchdeckel prominent angesprochene Repräsentation erweist sich nämlich nicht als thematische Klammer bzw. roter Faden der Untersuchung. Die eine oder andere der gezogenen Schlussfolgerungen mag diskutierbar sein, doch ist es nicht die Absicht dieser Rezension sich darauf im Einzelnen einzulassen, und auch nicht einige Aussagen, denen

man nicht zustimmen möchte, oder gar kleine Fehler herauszufiltern. Der Rezensent kann allerdings nicht umhin, auf einen Lapsus aufmerksam zu machen, der sein eigenes näheres Umfeld betrifft: Wenn nämlich am Frauenberg bei Flavia Solva die vermutete Verehrung eines Götterpaares angesprochen wird, so sind dies natürlich nicht Mars Loucetius und Nemetona (S. 236), sondern Mars Latobius und Isis (Noreia). Insgesamt betrachtet, handelt es sich bei dem Buch um eine fleißige und inhaltsreiche Zusammenstellung des Forschungsstandes, relevanter Befunde und einschlägiger Quellenaussagen zur Romanisation Noricums mit vielen bemerkenswerten Beobachtungen und Überlegungen. Es bietet somit eine wertvolle Grundlage für die Beschäftigung mit dem zur römischen Provinz Noricum gewordenen Gebiet. Freilich, ein anderer Titel wäre günstig gewesen.

Werner PETERMANDL.

Arjan ZUIDERHOEK, *The Ancient City*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2017 (Key Themes in Ancient History), 23 × 15 cm, xiv-225 p., fig., 18,99 £, ISBN 978-0-521-16601-0.

El presente libro versa sobre uno de los temas cruciales de la Antigüedad: la ciudad, que era la célula básica en la que se desarrolló la política, la economía, la cultura y la sociedad en el mundo grecorromano. En la línea de la reconocida serie “Key Themes in Ancient History” de la Universidad de Cambridge, el argumento central de la obra es ofrecer un estado de la cuestión en el que se analicen las principales corrientes y teorías existentes sobre este amplio debate historiográfico. El objetivo de Zuiderhoek es proporcionar un modelo sobre el urbanismo grecorromano (a partir fundamentalmente de la *polis* griega y de la *ciuitas* de la Italia romana) a fin de que pueda ser utilizado en estudios comparativos con otros tipos de urbanismos antiguos, pero no desde una perspectiva eurocéntrica que busque mostrar a la primera como algo superior con respecto al resto de tradiciones urbanísticas, sino tan solo como una modalidad diferente. A este efecto, el libro se estructura en diez capítulos que abordan cada uno de los aspectos claves que definían la vida cívica y el urbanismo en el mundo antiguo, incluyéndose igualmente un ensayo bibliográfico y un índice de nombres. El primer capítulo (p. 1-19) contiene una introducción general en la que Zuiderhoek analiza principalmente tres concepciones distintas sobre la ciudad antigua: la de Fustel de Coulanges, la de Max Weber y la de Moses Finley, quienes ejercieron una enorme influencia en la historiografía posterior (Peregrine Horden, Nicholas Purcell, Kostas Vlassopoulos, o el Copenhagen Polis Centre, por ejemplo). El segundo capítulo (p. 20-36) indaga en los orígenes de la ciudad antigua a partir de dos rasgos que el autor estima esenciales en su desarrollo histórico: la comunidad de ciudadanos (la *polis* o *ciuitas*) donde poseían sus tierras y compartían un gobierno común; y el paisaje urbanístico monumental conformado por la arquitectura pública y religiosa. Zuiderhoek señala la dificultad de adaptar el modelo evolucionista de la escuela de Gordon Childe a las primeras *póleis* o *ciuitates*, pues considera que su formación se fundamentó en el acuerdo entre las elites y un amplio grupo medio de campesinos terratenientes, quienes con el tiempo fueron dotándose de unas instituciones comunes hasta llegar a formalizar la idea de “comunidad cívica”. Todo este proceso histórico tuvo lugar en un contexto “anárquico” de gran conflictividad entre unas ciudades y otras, lo que explica para el autor la “robustez” de estas comunidades. El siguiente capítulo (p. 37-55) profundiza en la relación de la ciudad con su *hinterland*, poniendo el énfasis en el análisis de las redes de conexión entre ambos ámbitos a partir de los enfoques de von Thünen y Lo Cascio, así como las teorías del “Central Place” y del “Rank-Size model”. Por otra parte, como pone de manifiesto Zuiderhoek, cabe destacar que la mayor parte de las imágenes que nos llegan sobre el mundo rural antiguo tenían un origen

urbano, lo que no implica que sean erróneas, sino que presentan una fuerte connotación política que reflejan las preocupaciones de los autores clásicos sobre los acontecimientos históricos de su época. La estructuración del paisaje urbano de la ciudad antigua y cómo era concebido ese espacio por parte de sus habitantes son objeto de estudio del cuarto capítulo (p. 56-77). Además, como apoyo visual, en este apartado se incluyen cinco ilustraciones con los planos de las ciudades de Mileto, Priene y Cosa, el diagrama de un *castrum* romano y de un bloque de edificios de Olinto. A pesar del esplendor de su arquitectura monumental, el autor quiere mostrar que las ciudades grecorromanas no eran particularmente lugares “agradables” para vivir, pues la muerte estaba siempre omnipresente debido a las condiciones de vida y, sobre todo, a la facilidad que tenían las enfermedades contagiosas para extenderse entre la población, de manera que siempre fue necesaria la inmigración para el crecimiento de la ciudad o, al menos, para frenar su declive. El quinto capítulo (p. 78-93) examina el funcionamiento de los sistemas políticos de las ciudades grecorromanas (oligarquía y democracia) y cómo se ejercía el poder mediante sus instituciones políticas (las asambleas, los consejos y los magistrados), detallándose las diferencias existentes entre la *polis* griega y la *ciuitas* romana. El siguiente capítulo (p. 94-105) se adentra en el desarrollo de la vida pública a través de los rituales que definían realmente la identidad de la comunidad cívica y que reforzaban igualmente los sentimientos de cohesión, además de legitimar las jerarquías sociales y al propio poder. El séptimo capítulo (p. 106-130) introduce una de las cuestiones esenciales sobre la que ha debatido la historiografía: ¿hubo realmente en las ciudades grecorromanas una “clase media burguesa”? Mediante un detallado estudio de la estratificación y movilidad social de las ciudades antiguas, Zuiderhoek llega a la conclusión de que la sociedad grecorromana era mucho más compleja que la dicotomía entre ricos y pobres que quieren reflejar las fuentes clásicas, pues es posible discernir varios grados intermedios que fueron imprescindibles para el desarrollo de la vida cívica. Sin embargo, como señala acertadamente el autor, no debemos dejarnos caer en el error de buscar una “clase media burguesa” según el patrón de la Europa moderna, puesto que resulta anacrónico para las ciudades grecorromanas que representan otro modelo bien diferente. El octavo capítulo (p. 131-148) se centra en la economía urbana, concretamente en la especialización del trabajo artesanal y en la intervención de las autoridades urbanas mediante la gravación de impuestos, el control de los mercados y la regulación de las distribuciones frumentarias. El siguiente capítulo (p. 149-166) aborda las relaciones de las comunidades cívicas con las grandes estructuras políticas del mundo antiguo (reinos e imperios), aunque el principal interés reside en el análisis del debate historiográfico sobre la concepción de la ciudad antigua como un Estado, una discusión que Zuiderhoek considera fútil porque no ayuda realmente a la comprensión de la política de estas comunidades, ya que los parámetros del “Estado moderno” no tienen sentido en las ciudades grecorromanas. De hecho, como señala el autor, si se prescinde del concepto de “Estado”, desaparecen los problemas a la hora de definir las ciudades que llegaron a conformar grandes estructuras hegemónicas (como el “imperio” ateniense de la Liga de Delos o el de la República romana, por ejemplo). Finalmente, el último capítulo (p. 167-185) afronta una de las cuestiones más complejas sobre esta temática: ¿desapareció la ciudad antigua, o bien se transformó en algo nuevo? Aunque en algunos lugares se observan claros índices de declive, el autor observa que la documentación arqueológica en su conjunto no sugiere que esta decadencia fuera general como en las ciudades de África, por ejemplo, donde hay evidencias de continuidad de la densidad demográfica y de la intensidad de las actividades económicas. No obstante, sí se produjeron importantes cambios, especialmente, en la fisonomía urbana, pues se produjo la resignificación de algunos espacios y varios edificios públicos que se transformaron para adaptarse a nuevas funciones. Todos

esos cambios políticos, económicos y sociales no deben entenderse siempre en términos de crisis o problemas, sino más bien de metamorfosis hacia una realidad nueva que, como afirma Zuiderhoek, ya no podría definirse como “ciudad antigua”. A continuación, se realiza un breve ensayo bibliográfico basado esencialmente sobre autores anglosajones – lo que resulta lógico, en principio, si tenemos en cuenta el público al que está destinado principalmente este libro. Sin embargo, se echa en falta que se citen algunos trabajos clásicos sobre esta temática procedentes de la historiografía francesa, española o italiana, como por ejemplo la fundamental obra de F. Jacques, *Le privilège de liberté. Politique impériale et autonomie municipale dans les cités de l'Occident romain (161-244)* (reeditado recientemente por l'École Française de Rome), o bien algunos artículos de autores expertos en la temática como M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni, E. Gabba, U. Laffi, A. Caballos o E. Melchor, por ejemplo. En líneas generales, podemos concluir que el presente libro cumple con sus objetivos básicos porque no pretende ser un gran tratado exhaustivo sobre cada uno de los elementos que componían las comunidades cívicas grecorromanas, sino que realiza un amplio compendio por temas y autores que logra ofrecer una visión global sobre la ciudad antigua que puede resultar de gran utilidad para estudiantes o jóvenes investigadores. Como bien dice Zuiderhoek, “cities matter not just because we happen to find them in Greece, Rome or medieval Europe, but because we find them almost everywhere” (p. 17). Por esta razón, en esta obra se pueden encontrar nuevas ideas o enfoques que pueden animar a llevar a cabo estudios comparativos con otras culturas por los que aboga el autor.

Víctor A. TORRES-GONZÁLEZ.

## PUBLICATIONS ADRESSÉES À *LATOMUS*

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- Dialogues d'histoire ancienne*. 45/1. 2019, Besançon, Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2019, 22 × 16 cm, 337 p., fig., 40 €, ISSN 0755-7256.
- Anthony ÁLVAREZ MELERO / Alfonso ÁLVAREZ-OSSORIO RIVAS / Gwladys BERNARD / Víctor A. TORRES-GONZÁLEZ (ed.), *Fretum Hispanicum. Nuevas perspectivas sobre el Estrecho de Gibraltar durante la Antigüedad*, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla, 2018 (Historia y Geografía), 24 × 17 cm, 363 p., fig., ISBN 978-84-472-2841-6.
- Martin AUER, *Municipium Claudium Aguntum. Keramikregionen als Interaktionsräume. Eine west-norische Perspektive*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2019 (Ager Aguntinus, 2), 30 × 22 cm, vi-417 p., fig., 98 €, ISBN 978-3-447-11173-7.
- Nathan BADOUR / Antigone MARANGOU (ed.), *Analyse et exploitation des timbres amphoriques grecs*, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2019, 28 × 22 cm, 391 p., fig., 39 €, ISBN 978-2-7535-7800-5.
- Giovanna BATTAGLINI / Filippo COARELLI / Francesca DIOSONO (ed.), *Fregellae. Il tempio del Foro e il tempio suburbano sulla Via Latina*, Roma, Giorgio Bretschneider, 2019 (Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Monumenti antichi. Serie Miscellanea, 23. Serie generale, 78), 34 × 24 cm, LVIII-358 p., fig., 165 €, ISBN 978-88-7689-314-8.
- Paul J. BURTON, *Roman Imperialism*, Leiden / Boston, E. J. Brill, 2019 (Ancient History), 24 × 16 cm, 114 p., ISBN 978-90-04-40462-5.
- Antonio CABALLOS RUFINO, *De Trajano a Adriano*. Roma matura, Roma mutans, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla, 2018, 24,5 × 18 cm, 765 p., fig., 36 €, ISBN 978-84-472-2828-7.
- Hélène CASANOVA-ROBIN / Gilles SAURON (ed.), avec la collaboration de Marianne MOSER, *Ovide, le transitoire et l'éphémère. Une exception à l'âge augustéen?* Préface de Barthélémy JOBERT, Paris, Sorbonne Universités Presses, 2019 (Rome et ses Renaissances), 24 × 16 cm, 360 p., fig., 28 €, ISBN 979-10-231-0629-9.
- Mireille CÉBEILLAC-GERVASONI (†) / Nicolas LAUBRY / Fausto ZEVI (ed.), *Ricerche su Ostia e il suo territorio. Atti del terzo seminario ostiense (Roma, École française de Rome, 21-22 ottobre 2015)*, Rome, École française de Rome, 2019 (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 553), 28 × 21 cm, 412 p., fig., 69 €, ISBN 978-2-7283-1332-7.
- Régis COURTRAY, *Jérôme. Commentaire sur Daniel*, Paris, Éditions du Cerf, 2019 (Sources chrétiennes, 602), 20 × 13 cm, 622 p., 55 €, ISBN 978-2-204-13013-4.
- Manuel DE SOUZA / Olivier DEVILLERS (ed.), *Neronia X. Le Palatin, émergence de la colline du pouvoir à Rome, de la mort d'Auguste au règne de Vespasien, 14-79 p.C.*, Bordeaux, Ausonius, 2019 (Mémoires, 55), 29 × 22 cm, 412 p., fig., 60 €, ISSN 1283-2995.
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- Jean-Michel FONTANIER, *Le Lexicon. Dictionnaire trilingue français, latin, grec*. 2<sup>e</sup> édition revue et augmentée, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2019 (Études anciennes), 25 × 18 cm, 823 p., 39 €, ISBN 978-2-7535-7761-9.
- Vassiliki GAGGADIS-ROBIN / Nicolas DE LARQUIER (ed.), *La sculpture et ses emplois. Actes des 11<sup>es</sup> rencontres autour de la sculpture romaine*, Bordeaux, Ausonius Éditions, 2019 (L'atelier du sculpteur, 1), 31 × 24 cm, 348 p., fig., 43 €, ISBN 978-2-35613-331-1.
- Perrine GALAND / Loris PETRIS (ed.), *Michel de l'Hospital. Carmina. Livre IV*. Édité, traduit et commenté par David AMHERDT, Laure CHAPPUIS SANDOZ, P. G. et L. P., avec la collaboration de Christian GUERRA et Ruth STAWARZ-LUGINBÜHL, Genève, Droz, 2019 (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 601), 25 × 17 cm, 249 p., 70 fr. s., ISBN 978-2-600-05940-4.
- Charles GUÉRIN / Frédérique WOERTHER (ed.), *Pierre Chiron. Rhétorique, philologie, herméneutique. Travaux choisis*, Paris, J. Vrin, 2019 (Textes et traditions, 30), 24 × 16 cm, 376 p., 32 €, ISBN 978-2-7116-2841-4.
- Maria INTRIERI (ed.), *Koinonia. Studi di storia antica offerti a Giovanna De Sensi Sestito*. A cura di M. I., con la collaborazione di Giuseppe SQUILLACE e Antonio ZUMBO, Roma, Giorgio Bretschneider, 2018 (Historica, 11), 24 × 17 cm, xx-771 p., fig., 69 €, ISBN 978-88-7689-304-9.
- Andrew LEIGH, *Latin Prose Composition: A Guide from GCSE to A Level and Beyond*, London / New York, Bloomsbury Academic, 2019, 24 × 16 cm, viii-236 p., 13,49 £, ISBN 978-1-350-04803-4.
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- Paolo ORSI, *I Tacuini*. I. Riproduzione anastatica e trascrizione dei Tacuini 1-4, a cura di Gioconda LAMAGNA e Giuseppina MONTEROSSO, Roma, Giorgio Bretschneider, 2018 (Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Monumenti antichi. Serie Miscellanea, 20. Serie generale, 75), 34 × 24 cm, xxx-274 p., fig., 125 €, ISBN 978-88-7689-299-8.
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- Anthony TUCK / Rex WALLACE, *The Archaeology of Language at Poggio Civitate (Murlo)*, Roma, Giorgio Bretschneider, 2018 (Archaeologica, 178), 24 × 17 cm, xviii-130 p., 17 pl., fig., ISBN 978-88-7689-309-4.